





III

SIXTEENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY

FOR

Colonizing the Free People of Colour

OF THE

UNITED STATES.



WITH AN APPENDIX.



WASHINGTON:

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1833.



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# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

AT THEIR

### SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.



THE Annual Meeting of this Institution was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on Monday evening, the 20th of January, at 6 o'clock. A very large and crowded assembly of our citizens, and of distinguished strangers from every part of the United States, convened at an early hour, when the Hon. C. F. MERCER, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the Chair. After prayer by the Rev. Mr. Cornelius, the names of the following gentlemen were read by the Secretary, as Delegates from the various Auxiliary Societies throughout the Union:

*From the Albemarle Society, Va.*

Hon. Wm. C. Rives,                      John H. Craven, Esq.

*From the Society of Buckingham co. Va.*

Hon. Wm. S. Archer.

*From the State Society of Maryland.*

Gen. S. Smith,                      Hon. B. C. Howard.

*From the State Society of Massachusetts.*

Hon. Edward Everett.

*From the State Society of New Hampshire.*

Hon. Samuel Bell.

*From the Society of New York.*

Hon. Erastus Root,                      Hon. G. H. Barstow,

G. C. Verplanck,                      N. Pitcher,

G. Y. Lansing,                      A. Ward,

J. A. Collier,                      J. W. Taylor.

S. Beardsley,

*From the State Society of Kentucky.*

Hon. H. Clay,                      R. S. Finley, Esq.

Thos. A. Marshall.

*From the State Society of Vermont.*

Hon. Samuel Prentiss,      Hon. Heman Allen.

*From the New York City Society.*

Ira B. Underhill, Esq.

*From the Worcester County Society, Mass.*

Hon. Joseph G. Kendall, George A. Tufts, Esq.

*From the Ohio State Society.*

Hon. Wm. Russel,      Hon. Thomas Corwin.

*From the Society of Steubenville, Ohio.*

Hon. Humphrey H. Leavitt.

*From the Society of Canfield, Trumbull Co. Ohio.*

Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, (its President.)

*From the Society of Franklin Co. Mass.*

Hon. George Grennell.

*From the Crawford Society, Penn.*

Hon. John Banks.

*From the Hanover Co. Society, Va.*

George Nelson, Esq.

*From the Society of Washington City.*

Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Esq. Col. Samuel Birch,

Dr. Thomas Sewall,

Josiah F. Polk, Esq.

Thomas H. Gilliss, Esq.

*From the Newark Society.*

Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen.

*From the Georgetown Society, D. C.*

Gideon Davis, Esq.

John Little, Esq.

Arthur Shaff, Esq.

*From the Alexandria Society.*

Rev. S. Cornelius,

Hugh Smith, Esq.

Rev. E. Harrison,

The following resolutions were then offered, and adopted by the Society.

By the Rev. Mr. Hammet.

*Resolved*, That the report just read be adopted, and that 20,000 copies be printed under the direction of the Managers.

In other places, said Mr. H. and other circumstances, I should regard it as my imperious duty to support, by what may be called argument, the able, the powerful, and I will venture to add, the highly satisfactory report to which we have just listened: but here, sir, in this Hall, and in the presence of the thronged and brilliant assembly that now surrounds me, I feel that this would be entirely unnecessary: especially, as I know, that there are those to follow me, from whom the meeting has a right to expect much more than from myself.

There is, however, Mr. President, in the report, one particular which my sense of duty will not permit me to pass over in silence. It is there stated, sir, and I confess that I heard it with mingled feelings of surprise and regret, that this Society still has to contend with a persevering and untiring opposition from some quarters. Opposition still to such a cause

as this! Sir, I had hoped that that day had well nigh passed by, and that the success which has already crowned the efforts of this Society, had left no longer doubtful the benevolence of the scheme, or the practicability of carrying it into full effect. Let this Society fall, sir; take from us the hope of relief which it holds out, and, like the miserable patient who hears from his physician that the last expedient has failed, you leave us nothing to reflect upon but the sullen gloom of despair. The evil which this Society proposes to remedy, has already spread to a fearful extent, and is becoming more and more alarming every day. That class of the community to whom it affords succour, though nominally free, can, in fact, never be so in this country. A gloom hangs over them through which they can never hope to penetrate, and they groan under a weight of prejudice from which they can never expect to rise. The consequence is that intellectual effort is paralyzed, and morals amongst them are prostrated. Find them where you may, whether in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Richmond, or Charleston—in a free or in a slave holding state, you find them, with very few exceptions, the same degraded race. No individual effort, no system of legislation, can in this this country redeem them from this condition, nor raise them to the level of the white man, nor secure to them the privileges of freemen. It is utterly vain to expect it. And, sir, to procure for them what they cannot have here, and what the history of this enterprise has proven, can be secured to them elsewhere, is the object contemplated by this association; remembering always that in proportion as we benefit them, we benefit ourselves. Now, sir, I ask you, is it not amazing that such an enterprise should meet with opposition from any lover of his country—from any lover of freedom?

But, thank Heaven, sir, the opposition is feeble, in comparison with the encouragement and support which the Society meets with. In almost every state of this Union, the great body of the people are awaking to a sense of the vast importance of this undertaking. The ablest statesmen and politicians are espousing and advocating its interests—state societies and neighbourhood societies, designed to co operate with this are rapidly multiplying. The Legislatures of several of the states have pronounced favorably upon its plans and its proceedings; many of them contributing largely to its pecuniary resources—and, sir, the whole religious community of this widely extended republic, have declared it worthy their confidence, and have resolved in their solemn assemblies to give to it their support.

Take for example, said Mr. H. the Methodist Episcopal Church—the Church to which I have the happiness to belong. At her General Conference (the highest assembly of that Church) which met in Philadelphia in May last, a resolution was adopted; and, I believe unanimously, recommending this Society to the patronage of the people of that communion. Sir, I know I am correct when I say, that this *whole* denomination, numbering in the U. States, nearly *six hundred thousand* (600,000) *communicants*, and not much short of *ten thousand* Ministers of different grades, unitedly approve the objects of this Society. All the other leading denominations of the country, sir, do the same. In this, we all agree. The peculiarities of creed, of sect, and of party, are here forgotten, or lost in the glories of one common philanthropy. With such a general—almost unanimous testimonial of the approbation of the country, and with the blessing of Almighty God attending its exertions, there can be little room left to doubt, that the American Colonization Society will continue to rise and flourish, and ultimately accomplish the glorious undertaking in which it has engaged.

Turn your eyes, sir, to the Colony itself, and the prospect is equally encouraging and cheering. We there behold a class of beings who, at

home amongst us, could scarcely be controlled by law, or elevated by religion, suddenly springing into honorable notice, cultivating among themselves all the arts of civilized life, and securing to their families all the blessings of well-ordered society. Every day's intelligence only reiterates what we have heard from the beginning—that peace, harmony, and contentment are abounding. What colonist has ever complained, that protection and security were not guaranteed to him there? And what American Captain has, at any time, come back to tell us, that tranquillity and happiness are not enjoyed there? Schools are established, churches are erected, the mechanic arts are cultivated, agriculture is promoted, and commerce even with foreign nations has already been embarked in; and by whom, sir? By a class of beings who, while here, hung as a dead weight upon the skirts of the country. Sir, with the sublimity and grandeur of the spectacle and prospect before us, calculation itself can hardly keep pace.

I behold in the Colony, at Liberia, the germ of an empire that may one day rival our own. The genius of liberty shall go out from thence; the dominion of freedom shall be extended; tribe after tribe shall send in its adhesion, until the entire of long neglected—long injured Africa—no longer pillaged and plundered of her children, shall be crowned with all the blessings of civil liberty. And by the advancement of this cause shall commerce be advanced. The hidden treasures of another continent shall be developed and borne upon many a sea. Our country shall derive from it an extensive and profitable trade. Our sons shall go out the supercargoes of richly laden vessels; and, it is not visionary to believe that, at no distant day, we shall see it announced, that another line of packet ships is established, to trade between New York and Monrovia.

The Christian, too, has here much to animate his hopes, and stimulate his zeal. An immense field, “already white to the harvest,” opens before him. The missionary of the cross shall enter there, bearing to perishing thousands the “Bread of Life.” Africa will receive him—Churches will be reared; presses will be established; the scriptures will be circulated; and the darkness of ages, retiring like the shades of the night at the approach of the morning sun, shall be finally scattered by the effulgent blaze of truth divine. Yes, sir, superstition shall be broken down, false philosophy shall be confounded, heathen oracles shall be struck dumb;—“The altar and the god shall sink together to the dust”—and Africa shall come forth “redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled.” And may Heaven hasten the time!

I have done, sir. I am afraid I have trespassed on the time of the meeting; but in justice to those who have invited me to this service, and in justice to my own feelings, I could not have said less. I close, sir, by declaring, that, in whatever sphere it may be my lot to move, I shall feel it to be a sacred duty which I owe to my country, and to the cause of humanity, steadily and constantly to advance the principles and interests of this Society.

On motion by Hon. T. Corwin, seconded by Hon. J. Holmes.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the several Auxiliary Societies, for the efficient aid afforded by them during the past year, and that they be requested to continue their efforts with increased energy, in behalf of the objects of this Institution.

It was not until this last half hour, that I knew I was delegated to represent, with my colleague, Mr. Russel, the State Colonization Society of Ohio, at this meeting. Thus authorized, it gives me much pleasure to avail myself of this occasion, to represent here, in a few words, the somewhat peculiar feelings of the Western country towards this Society.

In the resolution which I have offered, I am sure there is no sentiment



expressed, which does not challenge at once the approbation of all to whom I address it. I believe, with few and inconsiderable exceptions, this Society has hitherto relied for the accomplishment of the great ends of its foundation, upon individual munificence, or such contributions as have been brought into the treasury by the subordinate Societies. That the single sentiment of justice towards a despised and degraded caste, should have brought into active and combined effort, such an immense number of individuals, is a spectacle of which this age may justly boast. It deserves to rank first amongst the great moral phenomena, of which our times have been so singularly fruitful.

Whilst, however, a noble desire to extend justice to the free black population of this country, is known to have contributed most powerfully in advancing the objects of this Society, it must be obvious that something of selfishness on our part has also had its share in the work of colonization. A strong conviction every where prevails, that the removal from amongst us, of this class, if not necessary to our internal tranquillity, as a nation, is at least indispensable to the perfection of our social and political systems.

The evils resulting from the existence of the free black people, in that portion of our common country where negro slavery prevails, have been too long and too generally deplored, now to be doubted by any. But, Mr. President, it is, I think, a very strange and too common a mistake, to suppose that this evil is confined alone to the slave-holding States of the Union. Sir, the great and growing non slave-holding States of the West, look with the most intense interest to the operations of this Society, chiefly for the reason, that, through its prosperous prosecution of the objects it was founded to accomplish, they yet hope to rid themselves of this anomalous population, whose existence amongst them, they justly consider the only evil to which their condition, as members of the confederacy, subjects them.

That I may illustrate what I have asserted in relation to the State I represent, I hope I may be pardoned a brief reference to her jurisprudence as connected with this subject.

In the year 1787, the territory north-west of the Ohio river was organized, comprehending within its limits the country now occupied by the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. By that celebrated ordinance, so often the subject of just eulogium in this Hall, it was provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude ever should exist within the limits of this territory, while it continued in that grade of government; nor in the States thereafter to be formed out of it. Thus the emigrant to the West was led to cherish a hope, that in his new situation he would be forever relieved, not only from the positive, but also from all the incidental mischiefs of negro slavery. Determined to effect this object, and to have within her limits no human being, to whom she might not extend the same civil rights, which she would accord to any other citizen, Ohio, in all her legislation, has been studious to exclude the free black man from her borders.

In conformity to this policy, our Constitution, while it gives the general right of suffrage to all white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, qualified only by a short residence, and the payment of a tax, withholds from the black man, under any and all circumstances, this sword and shield of freedom.

These austere restrictions, quite incompatible with the broad declaration of natural equality, thickly scattered throughout that instrument, were wisely deemed necessary to forbid the settlement of free blacks within our territorial limits. Following close upon the heels of these fundamental laws, very early in the legislative history of the state, laws were enacted, providing that black emigrants, before they were permit-

ted to remain an hour on the soil of Ohio, should give bond with approved resident security, that he or she should not become chargeable as a pauper. On failure to do this, it was made the duty of certain officers, under heavy penalties, to remove such person to his or her last place of residence. Famine also was invoked to aid legal exaction in effecting its purposes. Severe penalties were imposed upon all who should employ in their service, any one who had not complied with the provisions of the law, in regard to settlement.

Sir, I beg you to mark what has followed. Such was the miserable condition of this caste in other parts of the Union, that they braved all the terrors of our laws, risked removal, starvation and disfranchisement; came to, and in despite of the law, remained in Ohio. I say in despite of the law, for, Sir, the law could not be enforced. Although I recognize in all our legislation on this subject, a paternal regard for the internal quietude and prosperity of the people, I mention it as a fact honourable to the character of our population, that, when put to the test, the law, in all its severity, was seldom carried into effect. In almost every instance where the courts and juries of the country were called upon to put the law in force, a powerful sympathy for the distressed individual, overruled the less exigent considerations of public policy. In this instance we attempted to exact from the law, what no law is competent to perform. We put the power of the law in competition with a power above all law—the education, habits, opinions and feelings of the people.

After this struggle of nearly twenty years, between obvious public duty, and the counteracting and more powerful influence of a pervading and irrepressible public benevolence, we have found ourselves, at the census of 1830, with nearly ten thousand free blacks in Ohio. Very like, if not identically the same, is the condition of our sister State—Indiana. I think, Sir, that no one present, with these facts before him, will believe that I mistake public opinion, when I assert that the non-slaveholding States of the West have a deep and enduring interest in the issue of your labours. Whilst I mention the local, and, as we fondly hope, temporary causes which operate in Ohio to bring to your aid a hearty co-operation, I feel that I should do great injustice to those I represent, were I to confine their motives within a circle so selfish and contracted. I know, Sir, that with them, an ardent and sublimated benevolence; a deep and strong religious enthusiasm point to this Society as furnishing the only hope of the regeneration of despoiled and benighted Africa — They hope, by planting there the laws, literature, religion and institutions of enlightened Christendom, to make a late, long delayed, though still glorious atonement for ages of unmerited wrongs. Whilst, therefore, Mr. President, I have read with delight of the rivers of charity which, from other quarters, are flowing in upon us, it gives me pleasure to assure you that our rivulet of contributions will not fail. Small though it be, it has a deep and swelling fountain in the opinions, interests and institutions of Ohio; a fountain which will never be dried up, unless, unhappily, by the extinction of this Society, the channel shall be choked up, in which alone its waters may flow.

Mr. HOLMES, Senator from Maine, avowed a great change in his opinions, in regard to the Society. He had ever believed the design of the Society benevolent; but had long doubted whether its experiment would prove successful. But, the remarkable manner in which the hopes of the founders of the Society had thus far been realized, had induced him to look closely at its plan. He found that the Southern States, which he had apprehended would do least for its object, were earnestly engaged in promoting it, and that a very large portion of the emigrants were from Virginia and N. Carolina. He had feared that the long degraded black man, would with difficulty, be prepared for civilization and the duties

of self-government. The blacks in Africa, feel not their degradation; they will carry thither with them a knowledge of our free institutions, and of religion, without which, freedom exists nowhere. The Society, he believed, must do much good, and as he was about to retire from busy public scenes, it would be his delight to promote the objects of this Society. We were branded as ungrateful and inconsistent advocates of freedom. But who introduced slavery amongst us? When we became free our slaves could not become so—the experiment would have been too dangerous—the only mode of benefitting them largely, was by removing them to Africa. He was much pleased with the plan of the Society, and it should have his support.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Jenifer,

*Resolved*, That the magnanimity and generosity evinced by the humane and pious of England, who have come forward to assist the objects of this Society, demand the expression of our warmest thanks; and that they be assured of the sentiments of esteem cherished towards them by all the members of this Institution.

The resolution I hold in my hand (said Mr. J.) is but a just tribute to the liberality of the friends of this Society on the other side of the Atlantic. It must bring joy to the friends of this Society to know, that the kindred spirits of a distant land, justly appreciate their objects, and are disposed to co-operate in the great work of benevolence, in which we are engaged. It seems proper that the benevolent and pious of England should understand that we are not insensible to the magnanimity which has prompted them to contribute to the relief of evils from which they are far removed. The liberality with which they have come forward to our aid, merits the highest praise; and I will delay the expression of our gratitude, by no eulogy upon the character or proceedings of this Society.

On motion of Z. C. Lee, Esq. seconded by Hon. J. W. Taylor,

*Resolved*, That this meeting rejoice to know that the cause of African improvement generally, has made large advances during the year, and to believe that Christian nations are disposed to redress the wrongs they have inflicted upon Africa, and to assist her in rising from her darkness and misery, to honour and happiness before the world.

MR. PRESIDENT:—I rise (by request) to offer the above resolution; and in doing so, Sir, I cannot forbear to express the pleasure afforded by the very interesting and eloquent report we have just heard. I am truly gratified to know that the object of this Society has at length excited the sympathy, and enlisted the regard of the philanthropists of Europe; who, by their influence and means, are now, in England, giving us their support. And surely, Sir, if the spirit that prompted Wilberforce and Fox, in their noble efforts to overthrow the infamous slave trade, has received the grateful applause of mankind; is less honour and praise due to the British statesmen of the present day, whose eloquence and opinions are promoting the great cause of African colonization? While the former have denounced and punished the inhuman robbers who despoiled and depopulated the coast of Africa, and bore, crowded and manacled in the gloomy slave-ship, hundreds and thousands of her sons, to slavery and death; the latter, with us, are now successfully labouring to restore to that ill-fated country, a civilized and christian population, descendants of her native, but less enlightened children. We should therefore hear, with sincere gratulations, the promise of support from the Old World. France also is beginning to regard Africa with interest; and the subject of colonization has been taken up by an enlightened body of philanthropists in Paris, from whose exertions we may, ere long, expect a rich harvest of usefulness and benevolence. And how, Sir, can it be otherwise? The claims of Africa, that once proud quarter of the globe, must yet be felt by all Christendom, and the glorious work of her redemption from the night of barbarism, will find, I doubt not, devoted

labourers in every clime. Associated as she is "with the stirring memory of thousand years," how touching and impressive is the appeal she now makes to the patriot and the scholar; for, over the darkness that has for centuries covered her, the light of the past is still undimmed.

In letters, Africa will be immortal. It was from her rock that the living waters first gushed. What a field, Sir, does she not present for the experiment of self-government—for the enjoyment of well-regulated liberty. Shall, then, all other people, whenever and wherever struggling for their rights, receive our sympathy and aid; and Africa, the land where Carthage triumphed, and where Cato died, be forgotten? No, Sir, though long neglected, she cannot be forgotten; and thanks to this Society, through its means, and by the blessings of Providence, she is yet, I trust, to be regenerated, and raised in the scale of nations. The star of her destiny is rising higher and brighter on the world. The horrible slave trade has been, in a great degree, overthrown: and we behold, at this moment, on the shores of Africa, a colony of freemen, enjoying every social and political right, and diffusing civilization and religion among the native tribes.

In stability and rapid improvement, Liberia can challenge the world for its parallel. Not more than sixteen years ago, Sir, in this city, a few unpretending and noble philanthropists assembled, at whose head was the late Judge Washington, a man whose spotless virtue and profound mind adorned the seat of justice. By this small, but devoted band, the foundations of our Society were laid, amid difficulties and prejudices, now happily overcome. From them, under Heaven, the voice has gone forth—"let there be light in Africa;" and there is increasing light, by which a whole nation may yet be guided to civil and religious liberty.

And should we not indulge a national pride, when we recollect that this is, emphatically, an AMERICAN cause, first asserted by us, and flourishing alone under our own glorious and 'star spangled banner?' It is in vain now to doubt its practicability; sixteen years have tested it, and the Colony stands self-vindicated at this day, in its present prosperity and success. It is a cause, Sir, worthy the age in which we live—worthy of the consideration and regard of our national councils; for, independent of its intrinsic importance to the African race—apart from motives of justice and humanity, it strongly addresses itself to state expediency, which looks only to ourselves as a nation. We have a growing population of free people of colour, distinct and separated from us by their character and condition; nominally free, it is true, but virtually slaves—a proscribed and degraded caste, whose liberty (if liberty it may be called) is but negative, giving them but little, and exacting from them every thing.—And it is these people alone, this Society proposes to colonize, and thus relieve our country from an acknowledged evil, by cutting off a morbid excrescence from the body politic, which has tended only to impair and corrupt our social system. While our own interests are promoted, theirs are also: upon the soil of their ancestors, blessed with religion and laws, how changed and elevated will be their condition! who can doubt the great and beneficial results to us and to them? In this respect at least, Sir, our Society dispenses a noble charity; one which is twice blessed—it blesses them that give, and them that receive.

And may we not confidently hope that the national arm will soon be extended to its aid, and the national treasury contribute to its advancement?

Sir, all great and glorious enterprises have, on their commencement, encountered opposition and prejudices. When the illustrious discoverer of our America first communicated his sublime enterprise to the Spanish Court, with what scoffing and opposition did he meet!—Visions of romance were credited before his—and, driven from dif-

ficulty to difficulty, Columbus had well nigh relinquished in despair, the prosecution of his great work. In the prayers of Isabella, however, he found hope and encouragement; her influence succeeded (and, Sir, what charity on earth can prosper without the prayers and influence of Woman) in extorting from Ferdinand the little aid he required. And what were the grand results? A continent, upon which the rights of man have been established on sure foundations. Our glorious republic—all America records them.

If, to Columbus, the sight of this new world, after being tossed from billow to billow in his shattered bark, was unspeakably cheering—if, to mankind, his discovery has been, and will be, through all time, an immeasurable good—if, Sir, the birth of a new world opened a glorious theatre for man—think you that the vessel which bore, from this young republic, the germ of liberty to the shores of Africa, was less welcome, because it went to redeem a people, and not to discover a world? and that those who embarked in it will be less regarded or honoured on this account? No, Sir, the founder or founders of this Society have, I trust, like Columbus, given to mankind, if not a new world, another republic, destined to stand by the side of our America, under the same broad flag, and bow with her at the same holy altars.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Chambers, of Md.

*Resolved*, That the Society view, with the highest gratification, the continued efforts of the State of Maryland to accomplish her patriotic and benevolent system in regard to her coloured population, and that the late appropriation by that State, of two hundred thousand dollars in aid of African colonization, is hailed by the friends of the system, as a bright example to other States.

The Hon. Mr. Chambers rose and said—

That the duty he assumed more properly, perhaps, belonged to others. After the praise just openly expressed by the Society, towards the state, of which he had the honour to be a citizen, he could not decline the privilege of proposing a vote of acknowledgment to her for the active and liberal aid which she had afforded to this Institution.

I feel proud (said Mr. Chambers) of the history of the connexion of my State with this Society. Not only has the Society enjoyed the patronage of some of our most distinguished citizens, but Maryland in her character as a State, has expressed, so emphatically, her just regard to the objects of this Society, as to have elicited from the Board of Managers an expression of high obligation for her magnanimous proceedings in support of them. The measures adopted by her have been referred to in the Report. Besides the annual appropriation of \$1000 heretofore granted from her Treasury, her Legislature at its last session, appropriated \$200,000, and placed it under the control of gentlemen of known zeal and intelligence, to be expended in the colonization of her free people of colour; and by this act, so full of honour and advantage, she has manifested her purpose of prosecuting a system of measures dictated both by humanity and interest. It is indispensable, however, that the object of this Society should continue to be what it has been professed to be, the colonization of the free people of colour only. Maryland will never stand opposed to the Society while it acts upon its original and unexceptionable principles, and pursues a fair and legitimate course. There is no sound reason to impede the policy of Maryland, or to slacken her speed. I know it has been said in some high places, that for a State or Government to connect itself with a Society like this, is rather matter for humiliation than glory;—that it is depreciating the ends of Government to suppose that it will connect itself with a "*petty partnership*" like this—"an irresponsible body" of individuals located here in the District, and despotically ruling a nation in another quarter of the world. It is a task far less difficult to apply harsh epithets, than to use sound argu-

ment; and there is no refuge more common to the man who cannot by good reasons resist a wise measure, than to employ hard words and ill names. Have those who thus speak of the Society urged arguments or stated facts to make good their expression of censure? Have they offered the evidence to prove this a *petty partnership* or an *irresponsible despotism*; or did they expect that at this period in the history of this glorious Institution—in the meridian lustre of its benevolence, and sanctified as are its objects by the many illustrious names which it numbers amongst its founders and its patrons, names revered by all who here and elsewhere do homage to the best virtues that adorn the man and the christian—did these enemies to the Society expect that at this day, a naked assertion of their hostility would be received as proof of the bad character they ascribe to it? I shall not here, in such a presence, waste words or time, to vindicate this noble charity from such unauthorized aspersions. Sir, there is a greatness in this enterprise, worthy the attention and the aid of every State in this Union. Its operations connect themselves with the improvement and the happiness of millions. The eager expectations of our people look to it with intense interest, as the great means under Heaven, of effecting an object of the first importance to us as a nation.

Mr. Chairman, we sometimes hear it objected to this Society, that it has to do with a subject of extreme delicacy, which must be approached with the utmost caution,—that when we touch this subject, we strike a chord which vibrates harshly.

Sir, I reside in a slave State, alive to all the jealousies which a consideration of this kind must excite. No other State would be more sensitive at the slightest effort to withdraw from its own peculiar cognizance, the exclusive and entire control of all questions touching this species of property; none will go farther to sustain her right to such exclusive jurisdiction; and no citizen of the State would vindicate that claim with more untiring zeal and firmness, than the individual now before you. But, sir, the apprehension is groundless—your Constitution avows and your whole history proves that no such purpose exists. This Society interferes with the rights and interests of no one. Who has ever claimed for the Society or for the National Government operating through its agency, the right to interfere with or control state legislation on the subject of slavery? There may be individuals in this Society as there are out of it, who intemperately urge the subject of emancipation, and would desire to see it advance quite beyond the limits of prudence and safety. Such enthusiasts may be willing to make any Institution, Society, or Government auxiliary to their wild and mischievous projects; but the Colonization Society is not responsible for these intemperate fanatics; nor does it countenance or encourage their schemes.—It interferes in no way with the rights or the interests of owners of slaves. That in the prosecution of its legitimate operations and by affording the prospect of comfort and respectability to the man of colour, it may exert an influence altogether of a moral nature favourable to emancipation, with a view to colonization, may be admitted. It imposes no restraints, makes no demands, assails no man's rights, nor seeks to invade the volition which he indulges, or to disturb the enjoyment of what the laws secure to him. Its sole and single object is the colonization of the free, and with their full consent.

I am well persuaded, that the course of Maryland so auspiciously commenced, will be perseveringly prosecuted; and finally, effect all the purposes which the most benevolent can desire. The Society does not and cannot estimate too highly, the influence of the late act of her Legislature; and I am sure that the system she has adopted will be sustained by the general voice of her citizens: they will not be misled by the assertions, though made in the boldest confidence of those who in ignorance or preju-

dice denounce your generous and benevolent purposes. Against the attacks of such persons, your history is a triumphant defence. What you are and what you have done, is known throughout the world—known to be admired and applauded. Maryland will never be reluctant to sustain an Institution over which her venerated Carroll has presided, and to whose service her best sons have devoted their best efforts.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Williams, of N. C.

*Resolved*, That the Reverend Clergy who have taken up collections in their churches for the benefit of this Society, merit its warmest gratitude; and that they be invited to bring the claims of it annually before their people, and solicit their contributions for the advancement of its cause.

In support of the resolution, Mr. Williams said—

The Reverend Clergy, Mr. President, are a body of men who, at all times, and under all circumstances, must be entitled to great weight in any country. If there be an object calculated to excite their zeal and quicken their exertions, it must be such as is designed to be accomplished by the Colonization Society. The resolution I have offered, presupposes that the ends to be attained by the Society, are not only proper, but likewise practicable. Coming as I do, from a Southern State, I hope it will not be deemed a trespass upon your time, if I should attempt very briefly, to vindicate the character of the Society, and to remove some prejudices which exist in relation to it.

In many portions of the Southern country, it is alleged, that the ultimate object of the Society is, to abolish the tenure by which persons of colour are held to labor. This allegation, sir, is unfounded. It is not true, that the Society, either at its formation or at any stage of its progress since, has ever been actuated by such a design. I happened to be present, when the first preliminary meeting of the Society was held in this city. I heard the Chairman who then presided, (now a distinguished member from Kentucky, in the Senate of the U. States\*), declare the several objects for which the Society was to be formed. I heard at the same time, a distinguished member of the House of Representatives, from Virginia, repeat the declaration, and reiterate the objects with great minuteness. In all this, not a word was said about abrogating the tenure of property in persons of colour. So far from it, it was distinctly stated, on the contrary, that with questions of this sort, the Society had nothing to do; that the operations of the Society were not to begin until all questions in regard to slavery had ceased, or been finally determined. When the one ended, the other commenced so as not to produce conflict or opposition of any kind whatsoever.—It is then a mere delusion, (perhaps in some cases worse than a delusion) to say that the Society designs to interfere with the established order of things existing in any of the Southern States; or to molest in any manner, the condition of the coloured population, bound to service by the laws of the land. An attempt like this, would produce more evils, than those for which we seek to provide a remedy; and certainly it will never be made by any of those wise and good men by whom the deliberations of the Society have heretofore been controlled. When a slave has become free, then and not till then, does this Society extend to him the hand of charity; then, and not till then, does this Society confer its benefits upon him, and translate him to Africa. All apprehensions, therefore, of a contrary effect, from the operations of this Society, are unfounded, and should be dismissed as a delusion; as a delusion fatal to ourselves and injurious to others, as a delusion which tends to the injury of an unfortunate and helpless race of human beings, who deserve, and who ought to receive all our sympathy.

It being demonstrable from the proceedings of the Society at every stage of its existence, that no improper or illegal designs can justly be

imputed to it, it remains to be enquired whether the objects of the institution are practicable. On this point, Mr. President, I am happy in thinking, that there is no room for doubt. Whatever doubts might have existed in the first instance, have long since been dissipated. In the history of nations, I believe it will not be found that an attempt to establish a colony in a foreign land, has ever met with greater success.—The settlement at James Town, at Plymouth, or at any point in South America, or in the West Indies, could not boast of more favourable auspices, than have attended the settlement in Liberia. Great and powerful nations have grown up from those other settlements, to which I have alluded; and why may not the same result be anticipated from that in Liberia? So far from entertaining doubts or fears on the subject, I think we have every reason to be inspired with confidence, and to be animated with zeal, in prosecuting our views to final consummation.

Suppose all the free coloured population in the U. States to be transported to Africa; and by this means our own country to be rescued from an evil always troublesome and often perilous; suppose in the time to come that a great and powerful nation has sprung up on that continent, devoted to the principles of christianity and cultivating the arts of civilized life; suppose the neighboring African tribes, now involved in gross idolatry, ignorance and superstition, to be redeemed from this deplorable state, and brought to a knowledge of the true dignity and duty of man; suppose the slave trade, that odious and detestable traffic, to be effectually suppressed, to be denounced and punished as piracy throughout the world;—suppose as the consequence of these renovations, that myriads of human beings have been rendered virtuous, intelligent, and happy, who otherwise, would have been vicious, uninformed and miserable;—suppose all this, and you have, Mr. President, some inadequate idea of the magnificent objects contemplated by the Colonization Society. With what ardor then, with what zeal, with what strenuous exertion must the Reverend Clergy, co-operate with us in all our efforts. It is their peculiar province, to teach us our duty in works of benevolence and deeds of charity. Yielding obedience to the precepts, and imitating the example of the master whom they profess to serve, the Reverend Clergy cannot relax in their exertions; but they will, on every suitable occasion, bring the claims of the Colonization Society before their people, and solicit contributions for the advancement of its cause. For this, men may thank them as we now propose to do, but Heaven will reward them.

On motion of R. S. Finley, Esq.

*Resolved*, That the free people of colour throughout the United States be assured that this Society had its origin in the most benevolent desires towards them; that its object is to promote their happiness and usefulness; and that it believes this can best be done by gradually separating them (*with their own consent*) from the white race, and establishing them in a situation where they may enjoy those privileges to which they are entitled by Nature and their Creator's will.

Having, for nearly three years past, devoted my time exclusively, in endeavouring to advance the interests of the cause of African colonization, during which time I have travelled in all the slave-holding States; and having spent a considerable portion of that time in Kentucky, the Auxiliary State Society of Kentucky has done me the honour to select me to represent their views at this meeting, and, after its adjournment, to give a more full exposition of them to the Board of Managers.—But as the evening is far spent, and I am to be followed by persons more able than myself to instruct this audience, I shall withhold those remarks, which, under other circumstances, I would be pleased to make. But I cannot, in justice to the slave-holding friends of colonization, I in part represent, forbear to state one or two facts, which have come



under my own observation, and which I doubt not, will tell strangely on nothern ears.

It will be borne in mind, that a prominent object of this Institution is to afford the means for a safe, gradual, and *voluntary* abolition of slavery. And it is this view of the subject that constitutes its chief glory in the eye of its slave-holding friends. I know that much pains have been taken to calumniate our brethren of the South, by representing them to be the advocates of perpetual despotism. From an extensive and familiar acquaintance with their views and sentiments, formed upon actual observation, I know this not to be the fact. This misrepresentation of Southern views came in a shape so authentic, as even to deceive the Board of Managers themselves. A few days since, I saw a letter in the office of the American Colonization Society, written in the summer of 1831, by a gentleman who had recently visited New Orleans, the contents of which truly surprised me. It represented that, with great labor, he had done a little in that city for the cause; that he had formed a small Society privately, which fact he advised should not be publicly made known, for fear of awakening hostility; that it had been suggested to him that his life was in danger! &c. Shortly after this letter was written, I proceeded, under the direction of the Board of Managers, to New Orleans, with a company of emigrants for Liberia, with a view to their embarkation at that port. Immediately on my arrival at New Orleans, I proceeded to the Mayor's office, and reported the arrival and destination of the emigrants. I announced my arrival and the object of my visit in the public papers; and after despatching a vessel with the emigrants to Liberia, I gave notice in all the newspapers, of a public meeting, to be held in the Presbyterian Church, on a Sunday night, for the purpose of hearing an address on the subject of African colonization. The meeting was well attended, and the gallery was crowded with coloured people, bond and free: I entered into a full explanation of the principles and operations of the Society. So far from producing any alarm or disquietude, the Louisiana State Colonization Society was immediately formed, under the auspices of some of the most distinguished men, and largest slave-proprietors of the State. This Society now numbers in its ranks, a majority of the members of both Houses of the State Legislature. Several persons authorized me to forward their names as subscribers to the American Colonization Society, on the plan of Gerrit Smith, one of whom has since left the Society a legacy of \$10,000.\* I met with circumstances of equal and even greater encouragement to our great cause, in other parts of the extreme South which I visited, especially in Woodville, Miss. Augusta, Ga. and Charleston, S. C. I will not detain you by entering into details. It is, however, due to my feelings, and an act of common justice to say, that the generous sympathy manifested for our cause, in the places above-mentioned, and in other places in the South which might be mentioned, and the noble liberality with which it has been patronised by them, is above all praise.

I know that an opinion prevails very extensively at the North, that the Southern people are attached to slavery in principle—that they would not get rid of it if they could—nay, that there is such a morbid sensibility on the subject, that they will not suffer even a calm discussion of any remedy, however feasible and peaceful. In order to remove this misapprehension, I have merely to say, that I have publicly discussed this subject every where in the Southern States, from the Eastern Shore of Maryland to the Gulf of Mexico, in the presence of hundreds of slaves at a time, and with the general approbation of the audience to which my addresses were delivered—and have uniformly represented it as af-

\* Another bequest to the Society has been announced of equal amount, from Mr. Ireland, late of New Orleans.

fording the best, and only safe means of gradually and entirely abolishing slavery. Indeed, so well is the moral influence of the operations of this Society understood in the extreme South, that all the advocates of perpetual slavery are bitterly opposed to it, and none in that region are its advocates, but the friends of gradual, peaceful, and ultimate, entire emancipation. In fine, this Society is drawing the line in a distinct manner, between these two classes of people at the South. The friends of human liberty are enlisting under the banner of colonization, and the advocates of perpetual despotism are arranging themselves under the banner of its adversaries; and it requires not the spirit of prophecy to foretell whose principles, in this age of reason and religion, and in this country of universal intelligence, will become universally popular.

To produce the final and complete success of this cause, is not a matter which is left to the choice of the American people, but is urged upon them as a matter of necessity. The safety, the integrity, and the honour of the Union depend upon it. And I, for one, confess that I have no fears for the perpetuity of this Union, and I have as little fear for the ultimate success and final triumph of this magnificent enterprise.

The Hon. Mr. TAYLOR of New York said—

That nothing was further from his intention, than to say a word to this meeting. But the events of the evening had awakened feelings which he could not and ought not to conceal. He had been present at the first meeting on the subject of African Colonization ever held in this city; at which, the venerated father of him who has just addressed us, (Mr. Finley), the devoted Caldwell, and the Chairman of this meeting were present. I know not (said Mr. Taylor), that any others in this assembly, participated in the deliberations on that occasion.

The great mass of the community then, deemed us enthusiasts. And of enthusiasm, weakness is the frequent accompaniment. But what have we lived to see? A Society which has extended its influence over the land, and won the applause of distant nations. We behold the rich contributing their thousands, and widows casting in their mites, and foreigners from across the Atlantic, pouring their treasures into the lap of this Society. You, and I, Mr. President, remember how, when and where, it commenced. Its success has been wonderful,—I had almost said miraculous. It must go onward. Almost all great enterprises may be traced to humble beginnings. The glorious cause of liberty was once confided to a frail bark, which bore a feeble band across the Atlantic. Its influence is now spreading and enlarging, and must reach the great family of mankind. And to whom was the work of destroying idolatry and introducing a pure religion committed? To a few individuals; and under the guidance of the same beneficent Being, who prospered them, this Institution must prosper.

G. W. P. Custis, Esq. rose and said,

The Resolution I hold in my hand, calls up early and mournful reflections.

*Resolved*, That this Society are deeply sensible of the loss sustained by it in the death of B. L. LEAR, Esq. a member of the Board of Managers, whose private virtues and public usefulness will long be treasured up in the memory of his friends and the community.

It was my fortune in early life to be rocked in the cradle of the deceased. He was born in the house in which I lived; his father was one of my old master's earliest friends. I should have known him well, and I cannot forbear to add my humble testimony to that of this community, and say that in all the relations of life, he bore himself well. He was a good citizen, an admirable son, a kind husband, and an affectionate friend.—As it has been left me to speak his praise, perhaps this short eulogy may be sufficiently comprehensive. His name is hailed with happy recollection.

tion from Mount Vernon. Peace to his ashes! the peace which passes all understanding, shed its influence on his soul.

In returning to this scene of by-gone labours in a good cause, I rejoice to find that it has suffered nothing during my absence for a few years. Onward is its march; and if virtue and benevolence are in the world, they are found here. This noble clarity gains friends wherever it is known. Among older nations, it has found those to speak its praise. The wise Clarkson, and the admirable Wilberforce, have said that the people of the new world have cast all others in the shade.—Our establishment of Liberia, a thing of yesterday, throws all their schemes aside. Our little Institution, planted but the other day, is developing energies, unexpected even by enthusiasts in the cause: civilization, the arts, and the best virtues of civil life; and my life on it, the colony which the Yankees have planted, will soon furnish men to penetrate to the heart of Africa—to disturb there the lion in his lair. Have we not succeeded in our experiment? New wonders are revealing themselves to the world. Blind man may not see that in this rising Colony, there is a rising empire; but the day will come, when this infant will go forth with giant strength on the race of glory. The colonial monuments, the wonder of after ages, will bear an inscription, gratitude to endless generations—to this Society; on their colossal fronts be inscribed AMERICA. When she shall have done the work, Sir, it will be seen that the new world will have sent back to the old, the most sublime empire of reason and law, ever known to mankind. She will have planted in a land, once illustrious, but long darkened by superstition and despotism, the institutions of civil and religious liberty; and savage men will feel their influence, and be converted to civilization and christianity.

Sir, I see through the long vista of ages, when you and I shall long have mouldered in the dust, the most glorious results from the operations of this Society. When such success has attended our experiment, who will say this is not the most feasible plan? Some say, colonize in Canada. Is that the region, Sir, for the children of the sun, who are barely comfortable at a temperature of 98 of Fahrenheit? The idea is ridiculous—absurd. Others say, establish colonies of free coloured people in the far West. I say no. We want all the West for ourselves.—“Westward the star of empire takes its way;” and soon our own citizens will tread the shores of the Pacific. By oceans alone, are we to be bound. No, Sir; let us return the children of Africa under their own blazing vertical sun; the climate best adapted to their nature and habits.

But it may be said, it is cruel to take these people from their native country, across the Atlantic wave. Have they not a right to stay here? Sir, they have no right to the white man's country. True, they have been deeply wronged, and let us restore them to the Land from whence they came. There they may be masters; the land, the government will be theirs. Let them plough the ocean, till the soil, or explore the forest. Be it so. I shall envy not, but rather rejoice in their prosperity. But here there is no footing for the coloured man. If he could be happy here, if he could be placed upon a level with others here, he might stay; but here he can shine but by borrowed light. Let him go, then, where he may rule alone.

Perhaps, Sir, the time has nearly gone by, which we might call our days of triumph. Difficulties have vanished before wise and persevering effort. Our enemies now look upon this Institution, as having attained a proud height.

Some alarmists tell us the slave population is to be freed. And, Sir, does any one regret that the hope is held out, that, with our own consent, we shall one day see an end of slavery? Should this Society be, as I doubt not it will, the happy means of producing this result, it will be

renowned as having done one of the greatest and best deeds that have blessed the world.

Since I last addressed you, our venerable President has been gathered to his fathers. Poor indeed were my praise to him for whom a nation mourns. And what opened upon the eyes of this old Roman father, to whom an all-wise Providence granted almost a patriarchal age? Sir, he had seen a nation rising to liberty, and power, and greatness, and himself hailed by successive generations, children, and children's children, as the common father of the republic. The last signer of the charter of our liberties is dead, and mourned by a mourning world.

As an old servant of the cause, let me say before I close, this cause has a warm place in my heart; it shall have my best energies, and latest prayers for its success. And can you stay the march of liberty over the world. No power can stay it. It gathers the force of mountain torrents, and all things give way before it. And such will be the course of this Society. No power can stay it. The Colony you have planted will increase. The General Government, the State Governments will lead it their munificent aid. Cities will grow upon its heights; mighty oceans be whitened by its fleets; and the day will come, when its flag will receive respect in our ports. Sir, this republic wants but one thing to make her what her founders intended she should be. A hundred years may elapse; but lives there the American who will not hail with delight, the expectation, that, at the close of a century, his descendants will see this an entire nation of freemen?

On motion of Gen. Walter Jones,

*Resolved*, That this Society receive with heartfelt sympathy and approbation, the very appropriate and well merited notice, contained in the Report of the Board of Managers, of the Society's late venerable President, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton; and that, whilst as patriots, we cherish the memory of one whose name stands so conspicuous in the early annals of the Republic, we are confident that his enlightened and steadfast support of the views and objects of this Society, will enlarge his claims to the respect and veneration of future ages, as an eminent contributor to the universal cause of liberty and philanthropy.

On motion by the Secretary,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Richard Smith, Esq. Treasurer, for his long continued, faithful, and gratuitous services.

On motion of Rev. O. B. Brown,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Hon. C. F. Mercer, for the able and dignified manner in which he has presided on this occasion.

The Society then proceeded, on motion of Col. Burch, to the election of Officers.

The Secretary stated near the close of the meeting, that there were some subjects of deep interest to the Society, which it was desirable to bring to the consideration of the friends of the cause then assembled, and proposed that the Society should adjourn to meet on the evening of the next day, at 7 o'clock, in the Rev. Mr. Post's church.

*Washington City, Jan. 22, 1833.*

The American Colonization Society met, according to adjournment, in the 1st Presbyterian church, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

The Hon. Charles Fenton Mercer, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, took the Chair.

The Recording Secretary being absent, Rev. Mr. Post was appointed Recording Secretary of the meeting.

Mr. Gurley moved to amend the Constitution of the Society, according to a draught which he submitted to the consideration of the meeting.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Frelinghuysen, it was

*Resolved*, That the draught of the amended Constitution, as proposed by Mr. Gurley, be referred to a Committee of three, to consider and report on the same, at an adjourned meeting of the Society, to be held in this place on Monday, the 28th inst. at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Mr. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Gurley and Mr. Post were appointed by the Chair, a Committee, according to the above resolution.

Mr. Gurley also presented a printed paper, containing subjects for the consideration of the Society, which, on motion, was referred to the same Committee.

Mr. Polk moved

That the Board of Managers be instructed to inquire into the expediency of appointing an Assistant Secretary, and a General Agent of the Society, and if they deem it expedient, to make said appointments.

This motion was also referred to the same Committee.

On motion, the Society then adjourned to meet in this place on Monday next, the 28th inst. at 7 o'clock, P. M.

*January 28.*

The American Colonization Society met, according to adjournment, in the 1st Presbyterian church, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

On motion of the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of N. J. the Hon. Mr. Washington, of Md. was appointed Chairman, and Rev. R. Post Secretary of the meeting.

The minutes of the last adjourned meeting were read.

The Hon. Mr. Jenifer, of Md. offered the following Resolutions, which were read, and, on motion of Mr. Gurley, laid on the table.

*Resolved*, That the resolution of the Society, adopting the report of the Committee on the election of officers, be reconsidered; and that the report be re-committed, with instructions to the Committee to examine the proceedings of the Board of Managers of the last year.

*And be it further Resolved*, That, in order to give time for such examination, the Society, when they adjourn to-night, will adjourn to meet at this place, at 7 o'clock, P. M. on Saturday evening next, the 2d day of February.

The Hon. Mr. Williams, of N. C. offered the following Resolution, which was read and laid on the table.

*Resolved*, That the Committee appointed on Tuesday, the 22d inst. for considering the plan for reorganizing the Constitution of the Colonization Society, be discharged from the further consideration of the same, and that the subject be referred to the Committee appointed to examine the proceedings of the Board of Managers of the last year.

The Hon. Mr. Frelinghuysen, from the Committee to whom the subject had been referred, reported the draught of an amended Constitution of the Society, which was read.

The Hon. Mr. Jenifer moved to lay the Report on the table, for the purpose of taking up the resolutions previously offered by himself.

After considerable discussion, during which, a letter from Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Esq. resigning his seat as a member

of the Board of Managers, was received and read—Gen. Jones moved to amend the motion to lay the report on the table, by adding to it the following words:—"And print it, together with the present Constitution of the Society, and put it into the hands of the members."

The question was then taken on laying the report on the table and printing it, together with the present Constitution, and putting it into the hands of the members, and decided in the affirmative.

On motion of Rev. Mr. McVean, of Georgetown, the Society then adjourned to meet again in this place, on Tuesday, the 5th day of February next, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

The following is the new Constitution submitted for the consideration of the Society.

ART. I. This Society shall be called "The American Society for colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States."

ART. II. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the Free People of Colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

ART. III. Every citizen of the United States who shall subscribe these articles, and be an annual contributor of one dollar to the funds of the Society, shall be a member. On paying a sum not less than thirty dollars, at one subscription, he shall be a member for life.

ART. IV. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and an associate Secretary or Secretaries, a Treasurer, a Recorder, a Board of Directors, and a Board of Managers.

ART. V. The Board of Directors shall consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, Recorder, and Board of Managers; of the Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Secretaries of the several Auxiliary State Societies; of such members as may pay at one time (or by annual sums of \$100 each) five hundred dollars to the Society; of the Managers of any State Fund for colonization; and of such other individuals, as either, for their eminent services, or weight of influence, it may be deemed proper to appoint. Seven Directors shall be sufficient to constitute a quorum.

ART. VI. The President of each Auxiliary Society shall, ex-officio, be entitled to sit and vote with the Board of Directors; and any such Auxiliary may send two Delegates, who shall enjoy the same privilege. All life members shall be allowed to attend and take part in the deliberations, but not to vote, at the meetings of the Board of Directors.

ART. VII. The Board of Directors shall meet annually on the third Monday in January, to receive the Report of the Board of Managers, and to consider and adopt measures to promote the great interests of the Institution. They shall have power to fill all vacancies that may have occurred in their number, and increase this number as they may judge best. They shall elect annually the other officers of the Society.

ART. VIII. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Society and Board of Directors, and to call meetings of the Board of Directors whenever he thinks necessary, or when required by any three members of the Board.

ART. IX. The Vice-Presidents, according to seniority, shall discharge these duties in the absence of the President.

ART. X. The Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, take minutes of the proceedings, and discharge all such duties as the Board of Directors or Board of Managers may require. And the Recorder shall record the proceedings of the Board of Directors and Board of Managers, and perform such other duties as may be required of him.

ART. XI. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of the funds of the Society, under such security as may be prescribed by the Board of Managers; keep the accounts, and exhibit a statement of receipts and expenditures at every annual meeting, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ART. XII. The Board of Managers, consisting of the Secretary and the associate Secretary or Secretaries, Treasurer, Recorder, and seven other individuals chosen by the Board of Directors, shall meet on the second and fourth Mondays of each month, and at such other times as they may deem expedient. They shall conduct the business of the Society, and take such measures as they may think proper for effecting its object, with the counsel and approbation of the Board of Directors; and make annual report of their proceedings to the Directors and to the Society. They shall also fill up all vacancies occurring in their number during the year, and shall make such by-laws for their government as they shall deem necessary, provided the same are not repugnant to this Constitution.

ART. XIII. This Constitution shall be unalterable, except at a regular annual meeting, and by a vote of two thirds of the Directors present, or by a general meeting of Delegates of Auxiliary Societies (to be equally represented) which, at the request of any three State Societies, the Board of Directors shall be required to call.

February 5th.

The American Colonization Society met, according to adjournment, in the 1st Presbyterian Church at 7 o'clock, P. M.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Washington, John C. Herbert, Esq. Vice-President of the Society, took the Chair, and Rev. R. Post was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

The meeting was then opened with prayer, by the Rt. Rev. William Meade, D. D. Bishop of Virginia.

The minutes of the last adjourned meeting were read.

The Hon. Mr. Jenifer, of Md. offered the following resolution.

*Resolved.* That a Committee of six be appointed by the Chair, to take into consideration the resolutions and report submitted at the last meeting, and report upon the same to the next adjourned meeting.

Mr. Clarke, of Washington, moved to amend said resolution, by striking out the words, "*adjourned meeting,*" and inserting the words, "*annual meeting on the 3rd Monday of January next.*"

After considerable discussion, Mr. Clarke withdrew his motion to amend.

R. S. Finley, Esq. of Ohio, then moved to amend said resolution, by adding the following words, "whether there was any thing unfair, illegal, or dishonourable in the election of the officers of the Society at the last Annual Meeting;"—which motion was decided in the negative.

The question was then put on the resolution offered by Mr. Jenifer, and decided in the affirmative.

It was then moved and carried, that the Chair appoint said Committee after the adjournment of the Society this evening.

The Society then adjourned, to meet in the same place on Friday, the 8th inst. at 7 o'clock, P. M.

The following gentlemen were appointed by the Chair, the Committee on Mr. Jenifer's resolution:—viz:—

Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, of N. J.; Hon. E. F. Chambers, of Md.; Hon. Edward Everett, of Mass.; Hon. Daniel Jenifer, of Md.; Hon. Wm. S. Archer, of Va.; Hon. E. Whittlesey, of Ohio.

February 8th.

The American Colonization Society met according to adjournment, in the 1st Presbyterian church, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

The Hon. John C. Herbert, of Md. Vice-President, took the Chair, and Rev. R. Post was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

The Throne of Grace was then addressed by the Rev. Mr. Ryland, of the Methodist Church.

The minutes of the last meeting were read.

The Hon. Mr. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, from the Committee appointed by the Chair, on Mr. Jenifer's resolution, adopted at the last meeting, reported and moved the following resolutions, viz:—

1. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the members of the Board of Managers elected at the last Annual Meeting, and not of the former Board, to resign their seats.

2. *Resolved*, That the vacancies which may thereby be created, be filled with the members of the Board of last year; and that the vacancy produced by the decease of B. L. Lear, Esq. be filled by the election of a new member, to be nominated by the nominating Committee appointed at the last Annual meeting of the Society.

3. *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient at this time to make any change in the Constitution of the Society; and that the further consideration of the plan of a new Constitution, referred to this Committee, be postponed to the next Annual Meeting.

4. *Resolved*, That the true and single object of the Society is that which is expressed in its original Constitution, viz:—"To promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient;" and that this object will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore, steadily adhered to.

Mr. Polk, of Washington, moved to postpone the preceding resolutions, with a view to take up one which he would then propose as a substitute, which he read. After considerable discussion, the question on Mr. Polk's motion was taken, and decided in the negative.

The question was then taken on the 1st and 2d resolutions reported by the Committee, and decided in the affirmative, Ayes 63, Noes 57.

The question was then taken on the 3d resolution reported as above, and decided in the affirmative, without a division.

The question was then taken on the 4th resolution reported by the Committee, and decided in the affirmative unanimously.

Richard S. Coxe, Esq. was then elected a member of the Board of Managers, according to the 2d of the preceding resolutions.

On motion of Gen. Mason, it was ordered that a copy of the 1st and 2d resolutions reported and adopted as above, be forwarded to each member of the present Board, who was not a member of the Board of last year, signed by the Chairman and Secretary of this meeting.

On motion of Gen. Mercer, the Society then adjourned *sine die*.

Attest, R. POST, *Secretary of the Meeting*.



## OFFICERS.

HON. JAMES MADISON, of Virginia, *President.*

### *Vice-Presidents.*

HON. JOHN MARSHALL, of Virginia.

General LAFAYETTE, of France.

HON. WM. H. CRAWFORD, of Georgia.

HON. HENRY CLAY, of Lexington, Kentucky.

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Gen. JOHN MASON, of Georgetown, D. C.

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ISAAC MCKIM, Esq. of Maryland.

Gen. JOHN HARTWELL COCKE, of Virginia.

Rt. Rev. Bishop WHITE, of Pennsylvania.

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JEREMIAH DAY, D. D. of Yale College.

HON. RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania.

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Doctor THOMAS C. JAMES, of Philadelphia.

HON. JOHN COLTON SMITH, of Connecticut.

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JOHN UNDERWOOD, Esq. *Recorder.*



## REPORT.



It has become the first and most painful duty of the Board of Managers, on this occasion, to express its deep sensibility under that dispensation of Providence, which has recently removed the venerable President of this Society to the great assembly of the illustrious dead. It is necessary only to name Charles Carrol of Carrollton, to revive those emotions of veneration cherished not by the members of this Society alone, but by all Americans, towards that aged Patriot, Philanthropist, and Christian, who was permitted for a time to stand the sole survivor of the immortal band that signed the Declaration of our national Independence, and whose death has called forth evidences of universal regret.

Although since the origin of this Society, and especially since the election of Mr. Carrol to the Presidency of it, the infirmities of age have prevented his engaging actively in its cause, the Managers are assured that this cause received his decided approbation—that he expressed his unwavering faith both in its holiness and practicability. His latest thoughts were given to it, and but a few hours before his death, the pen was taken for the last time in his trembling hand, that he might assign over to the Society a bequest (of \$10,000,) entrusted to him for its benefit. The demonstrations of public sorrow throughout this Union at his decease, have spoken far more impressively than any language the Managers could select, his private virtues and eminent usefulness as a friend of his country and mankind.

The Managers have also the melancholy office of recording the sudden death of B. L. Lear, Esq. a member of the

Board, in whose character the strictest principles of honour and integrity were united with the gentlest and kindest feelings of the heart. The powers of his vigorous and well-disciplined mind were ever usefully employed, and his duties, social and public, discharged with ardent zeal and rare fidelity. Frank and fearless in the avowal of his own opinions, he considered with candour the opinions of others—granting to them every right which he claimed for himself. Firmly convinced of the importance of this Society, he attended regularly at the meetings of the Managers; cheerfully subtracting large portions of time from the duties of an arduous profession, and employing them to aid a cause that promised, in his judgment, magnificent contributions to the freedom, virtue, and happiness of mankind. He is taken from us in the fulness of his strength and the prime of his usefulness; and while the Managers would be ever mindful of his example, they would solemnly attend to the voice of Providence, which admonishes them by his death, to labour diligently while it is day, because the night soon cometh in which no man can work.

In the review of the affairs of the Society, which the Managers propose to take, they invite the attention of the general meeting, first, to the condition and progress of the Colony.

It was stated in the last Report, that measures had been adopted for exploring the country adjacent to the Colony, and purchasing such territory as might be most eligible for new settlements. It was also mentioned that, in consequence of the favourable representations made of Grand Bassa, directions had been given that a settlement should be forthwith founded at that place. Though this object is not yet effected, the delay in regard to it has enabled the Colonial Agent to make arrangements to accomplish it speedily, with all advantages for promoting the health, security, and prosperity, of the settlers. He has visited the country, conferred with the native chiefs, paid the amount remaining due for Factory Island (granted to the Society

during the agency of Mr. Asbunny), purchased a valuable tract of land on the western bank of St. John's River, together with four large islands within the river, and obtained a pledge from the late owners, that suitable buildings shall be constructed in the native style, at their expense, for the accommodation of the first emigrants. The observations of the Colonial Agent have confirmed the Board in the opinion, that, in fertility of soil, variety and value of products, and abundance of animals, Grand Bassa is exceeded by no country on the coast. An intelligent and confidential colonist has been sent to this place, to complete all arrangements for commencing a settlement: and by the last advices, we were informed that all things would be in readiness for this purpose in the course of five or six weeks.

Possession has also been obtained of a tract of land at Grand Cape Mount: a position mentioned in former Reports, as eminently advantageous for trade, and from which the annual exports are now estimated at from 60 to \$70,000. The territory here ceded to the Society, is situated at a short distance from the sea, on the shore of a lake, about twenty miles in length, navigable for small vessels, and into which flow several rivers, affording important facilities for commerce with the interior. The chiefs of the country, who are thought to be more advanced in civilization than any others south of Sierra Leone, have granted an unquestionable title to this land, on the sole condition that settlers shall be placed upon it, and that schools shall be established for the benefit of native children. Some of these chiefs having obtained the rudiments of an English education in Liberia, expressed earnest desires that the benefits of instruction should be afforded to their countrymen, and the young men declared their purpose of submitting to the laws of the Colony, and their willingness to make further grants of land, to any extent desired, whenever the terms of the present negotiation shall have been fulfilled. The spot selected for a settlement is said to be

healthy, and the soil capable of producing almost every thing of value that grows within the tropics.

It is the intention of the Colonial Agent to examine, in conformity with the instructions of the Board, the country above the falls, on the St. Peter's River, which, from the best accounts, is more salubrious, and at least of equal fertility with any other in the vicinity of the Colony. The Managers propose, with the least possible delay, to found and multiply settlements on the high lands of the interior.

The Health of the Colony has never been better or more general than during the last year. The skillful and unremitting efforts of the Colonial Physicians, have been remarkably successful, and greatly diminished the danger to which newly arrived emigrants are exposed; and there are the best grounds for hope, that more experience, the clearing of the lands and the early removal of such emigrants to stations at some distance from the coast, will still further reduce the danger resulting from the influence of the climate.

In reporting the state of health among the emigrants, by several expeditions, Dr. Todsen remarks:—"You will see, by the above, that the mortality little exceeds that experienced in the most healthy countries of the world. Had these people been transported to England or any other European soil, the probability is, that the number lost, would fully equal the within." In another letter he writes, "I have no doubt, that even emigrants from the North, if they be placed and provided for in a proper manner, may, with few exceptions, be carried safely through the fever and enjoy the same health as in the United States."

It gives the Board pleasure, to state, that the colonists have become generally and deeply sensible of the primary importance of Agriculture; and have engaged in it with a degree of resolution and energy, that must ensure success. "Our settlements," writes the Colonial Agent, "every where present the cheering evidence of enterprise and improvement." "Most of the emigrants who arrived in the

few last expeditions, have already the promise of their labours being rewarded by abundant crops." The attention of several of the most respectable colonists, has been turned to the cultivation of coffee; and twenty thousand trees have been planted by a single individual. The recaptured Africans, who occupy two neat villages, about three miles from Caldwell, are very contented and industrious, and their gardens and farms are in a high state of cultivation. At one of these villages, the Agent lately observed "one tract of 150 acres planted with cassada, interspersed with patches of indian corn and sweet potatoes; and he remarks "that they raise not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a considerable surplus produce for the market."

Desirous of exciting still more a spirit of agricultural enterprise among the colonists, the Managers appointed a committee some months ago to consider what means might best be employed for this end. The report made by this committee and adopted by the Board, proposes to allow premiums to such as shall within a reasonable time raise the largest quantities of the most necessary and useful products, also to such as shall first train cattle to labour, and use the plough in cultivation; that the introduction of certain valuable animals should in the same way be encouraged; that various seeds, fruit trees and vines, be sent to the Colony; that an assortment of agricultural implements be entrusted to the Colonial Agent, to be sold at moderate prices to the settlers; and that a public garden shall be put in cultivation, wherein may be shown by careful experiments, what indigenous or exotic plants, fruits and vegetables will best reward the labours of the husbandman.

No time will be lost in carrying completely into effect the provisions of this report, which can hardly fail to increase the industry and energy with which the colonists are beginning to engage in agricultural pursuits.

Commerce has advanced during the year, and new avenues for communication and trade have been opened with the tribes of the interior. Caravans from a considerable dis-

tance have visited the Colony, and the people of the Dey country, have agreed to permit traders to pass without delay or molestation, through their territories to the colonial settlements. They had been in the habit of obstructing the trade, by compelling the remote natives to employ them as their commercial agents, and thus monopolizing the productions of the country, and raising their price in the market.

By the treaty they have signed, the whole channel of trade with the remote tribes, is left clear, which must increase greatly both its measure and value. During the year preceding the first of May last, 59 vessels had visited the port of Monrovia, of which thirty-two were American, twenty-five English, and two French. The exports during the same period, (consisting chiefly of camwood, ivory, palm oil, tortoise shell and gold,) amounted to \$125,549.16—of imports, to \$80,000—and the merchandize and produce on hand on the 1st of January, 1832, to \$47,400. The Colony is becoming known to tribes far distant from the coast, and Mandingo traders and others have visited it from the borders of Fouta Jallo.

Though in the view of the Managers, it is essential that Liberia should become an agricultural colony, and therefore that no measures should be adopted tending to elevate commerce at the expense of agriculture; yet the inconveniences arising from the want of a circulating medium, have caused them to resolve on introducing a small quantity of coin. It is proposed that this coin shall bear appropriate devices and inscriptions, and that the amount shall in no degree exceed what may be required by the actual necessities of the Colony.

The great interests of Education have been earnestly considered by the Board and the Colonial Agent, and the Managers report a manifest improvement in the state of the Schools and the general desire of the colonists for the acquisition of knowledge. There are six day schools for children and one evening school for adults, comprising altogether 226 pupils. The two female schools (one at Monrovia



and the other at Caldwell,) are attended by 99 girls, and the salaries of their respectable and well-qualified teachers are defrayed by a Society of benevolent ladies in Philadelphia. Inadequacy of funds alone has prevented the establishment of schools among the recaptured Africans, who are importunate for means of education; but the Board rejoice to learn that the charity of the ladies just mentioned, will satisfy the wishes of these Africans; and that under their patronage, a teacher for them, of competent ability and excellent character, has already sailed for Liberia. Many of these people can now read, and a Sunday-school (of which there are several in the Colony) has been established among them: some of their own number acting as teachers. Some regulations have been adopted, which it is thought will render the colonial revenue sufficient for the support of a general system of common-school education, by which alone, in the judgment of the Managers, the Colony can have power of self-preservation, or of salutary influence over the natives of Africa.

A High-school or Seminary, which should prepare youth not only to become able teachers of the most useful branches of knowledge, but to fulfil successfully their duties as public officers or ministers of religion, would prove of vast benefit: and the Managers feel encouraged, by a munificent donation of \$2000 from Henry Sheldon, Esq. of New York, and of \$400 \*from another distinguished friend of the Society, to be invested as a permanent fund for the support of such an Institution, to hope that one may soon be established on a broad and lasting foundation. To this object, the Managers cannot hesitate to invite contributions, and to express their anxious desire that the fund set apart for it, may be sufficiently increased, not only to found the Seminary, but to secure its permanent prosperity. They would remind the wealthy and liberal, that charity for such an object, may rear for them the noblest, because the most useful and durable of monuments, and that by endowing an Institution of learning, such as Liberia now needs,

they will not only prolong their life in the memories and affections of men, but form the manners, enlighten the understandings, and exalt the characters of future generations.

The relations of the Colony to the native tribes, are at present, of the most friendly character; and it has ever been the desire of the Board and of the authorities of Liberia, to maintain peace by strict adherence to justice, and by such acts of courtesy as best express the humane and benevolent feelings of the heart. Unfortunately in the early part of last year, a controversy arose between some of the chiefs of the Dey country and the Colonial Government, that soon increased to hostilities, which proved however, but of short duration. Several slaves about to be sold, escaped from one of these chiefs and sought protection among the recaptured Africans of the Colony. A demand being made for them, the Agent requested the chief to visit the Colony and declared himself ready to do justice in the case. This chief never complied with the request, but soon after died, and his sons immediately resolved on war, and endeavoured to secure the support of the Dey and Gurrah Kings. Several of the Dey chiefs openly united with them, while the Gurrah's secretly furnished men for the contest. A few of the colonists were seized and imprisoned; one of the recaptured Africans, in attempting to escape, was severely wounded; and the town of a native chieftain (a few miles from Caldwell) strongly fortified as a place of retreat for the aggressors. A messenger sent to the enemy by the Colonial Agent, was treated with contempt; and the settlements of Caldwell and Millsburg threatened with destruction. About one hundred recaptured Africans were despatched against the hostile force on the 17th of March, but on approaching the fortified town, they met with a repulse and were compelled to retreat with the loss of one man. Prompt and energetic measures were now required. The Colonial Agent, therefore, on the 20th, placed himself at the head of a part of the colonial forces,

amounting to 270 men, took with him a small piece of artillery, and after a fatiguing march, on the 21st, arrived in front of the fortifications at the town just mentioned, at half past one at night. An attack was instantly made upon the barricade, and in less than half an hour, the colonists were in possession of the town. For twenty minutes the firing on both sides was incessant. The loss to the colonists, was one killed (Lt. Thompson), and two wounded; that of the natives, fifteen killed and many wounded. Kai Pa, the instigator of the war, received a wound when about to apply the match to a three-pounder, which doubtless prevented a much greater destruction of lives. The courage and ability exhibited by the Colonial Agent, as well as by the officers and men under his command, on this occasion, has left an impression on the minds of the natives, which it is believed will effectually deter them from any future attempts to disturb the public peace.

Six of the Dey Chief's appeared at Monrovia on the 30th of the same month, and signed a treaty of perpetual amity and peace with the Colony, by which it is agreed that traders from the interior shall be allowed a free passage through their territories, and that all matters of difference which may arise between citizens of Liberia and the Dey people, with the evidences thereon, shall be referred for consideration and decision to the Colonial Agent. While the necessity of self-defence in any case, cannot be too deeply regretted, and while the love of peace should be cherished as heavenly in its nature, and most benign in its effects, the Managers still hope that the late contest will be followed by benefits of such magnitude and value, as immensely to outweigh the evils that attended its existence. That the Colonial Government has secured the confidence of the natives, generally, in its neighbourhood, is certain. "You can have no idea," says the Colonial Agent, of the favourable impressions we have made on the natives of the country; they are constantly sending messages, requesting us to settle at different points on the coast from Cape Mount to

below Trade Town (about 140 miles); and means only are wanting to enable us to occupy any portion of the coast between these two points.”

The Managers are convinced that Liberia is now prepared to receive a much larger number of emigrants annually, than the means of the Society have heretofore enabled it to colonize. They believe there is no reason to apprehend that the resources of the Society will ever exceed the demands for aid from those anxious to emigrate, or the capabilities of the Colony to afford accommodation and subsistence to those who may choose it as their residence.— Thus far, the slowness of its growth may have been an advantage. But with a government well established upon the popular will; an extensive territory, easy of cultivation and abundantly productive; a population, mostly sober, industrious and enterprising; with schools and churches, courts of justice, and a periodical press; and in fine, with the order and resolution of a people alive to their privileges, and determined to improve and perpetuate them, this Colony now invites all worthy free persons of colour to seek an asylum within its limits.

Thousands might be safely introduced in a single year, provided temporary buildings should be constructed, and some provision made for their accommodation and support during a few months after their arrival; and for this object, an allowance of fifteen or twenty dollars to each emigrant would probably be sufficient. Were one or even two hundred thousand dollars entrusted to the Society, it might be well expended before the close of the year, in removing emigrants, and in preparing for larger numbers to succeed them. The experiment of African colonization has been successfully tried; but it remains to be shewn whether this work, the practicableness and utility of which have been thus demonstrated, is to be sustained by a liberality, and conducted forward by a boldness and energy corresponding to its magnitude and importance. So great a work, it is

true, is not to be done in a day. But if ever to be completed, it is time to engage in it with an amount of means and a comprehensiveness and vigour of measures, that shall throw into shade all the past aids and efforts of the Society. Expediency dictates that this work should be progressive: the number of emigrants should doubtless increase with each succeeding year; and as much must depend upon the habits of the early settlers, some selection should be made among those who first offer, yet the Board cannot express too strongly their belief, that no funds can be supplied, either by individual charity, the States, or the nation, exceeding the amount required to execute this work, (and which may be judiciously applied to it,) on a scale proportionable to its greatness and merits, whether viewed relatively to the interests of our country, or the still higher interests of humanity, which it is designed to promote.— In the expectation that the numbers of the Colony would be increased in a greater ratio than usual during the year, the Board early directed receptacles to be built, and they are happy to state, that several have been completed, and all necessary arrangements made for the comfort and health of such as have recently taken passage for Liberia.

Although the Managers can report no great advancement in the moral and religious interests of the Colony, they have reason to believe them justly appreciated by the settlers generally, and guarded by many with devout care. Open immoralities are rare; the Sabbath is strictly observed, and public worship attended by nearly the whole community, with regularity and decorum. Three churches have been erected during the year; one at Monrovia, and two others in the villages of the recaptured Africans. The state of these recaptured Africans is most interesting. We have already mentioned their desire for knowledge, and we may add, especially for religious knowledge; some of them have already professed christianity, and they are represented to be as a people, contented and independent, and rapidly improving in intelligence and respectability.

The departure of four expeditions, just before the last anniversary of the Society, was mentioned in the report of the Board at that time, though no intelligence had then been received of their arrival at the Colony. They comprised in all, 404 emigrants; 189 of which were manumitted slaves, and concluded the voyage successively, the *Orion* on the 9th, and the *Margaret Mercer* on the 15th of December, the *James Perkins* on the 14th of January, and the *Crawford* on the 18th of February. It will be recollected that the *James Perkins* was fitted out unexpectedly, at the earnest request of those who embarked in her; and it is not strange, therefore, that the unlooked for arrival of her large company, with the passengers by the other vessels, should have occasioned some little embarrassment, as well as increased considerably the ordinary expenses of the Colony. In alluding to this subject, the Agent observes, "Only give me due notice, and send out building materials, and I care not how many you transport; they must and shall be accommodated." Most of the emigrants by the vessels just named, were agriculturists, and in some cases, it was deemed expedient to erect houses for them on their lands, that they might proceed to occupy and cultivate them immediately.

On the 9th of May last, the Ship *Jupiter*, Captain Peters, sailed from Norfolk, with one hundred and seventy-two emigrants, mostly from Virginia (ninety-one of which were manumitted slaves), and arrived at Monrovia on the 30th of June. This company was, in the view of the Agent, among the most promising ever landed in Liberia.

It may be recollected that the beautiful, well armed Schooner, *Margaret Mercer*, was presented to the Society by the Auxiliary Society of Pennsylvania, to be placed under the control of the Colonial Agent, for the general benefit of the Colony, and it may be gratifying to the donors to know that the advantages expected from it are likely to be realized.

The Brig *America*, Capt. Abels, left Norfolk on the 26th of June, with one hundred and twenty-eight passengers, fifteen of whom were manumitted by a single individual, and arrived at the Colony on the 15th of Sept. Eighty-eight of this number were from North Carolina, and twelve from the City of Washington. The Society of Friends in Philadelphia, generously advanced about \$2700 to defray the expenses of this expedition.

The character of many of those from North Carolina, the Board regret to say, is represented as likely rather to diminish than increase the prosperity of the Colony.

Several leading free persons of colour in Charleston, South Carolina, began near the close of last year, seriously to consider the plan of this Society. After careful inquiry and mature reflection, a number of them resolved, in the spirit of christian fellowship, and firm reliance upon Divine Providence, to emigrate with their families to Liberia.

Application was made for a passage in behalf of these people, by Thomas S. Grimke, Esq. who generously assisted them in making arrangements for their departure, and bore unqualified testimony to their sobriety, industry, intelligence and integrity. Several emigrants of similar character, from Georgia and Florida, having expressed a desire to join them, they proceeded to Savannah, where the entire company, (comprising 145 from Charleston, 11 from Beaufort, South Carolina, and 24 from Georgia and Florida, in all 180) 23 of whom were manumitted slaves, embarked in the Ship *Hercules*, Capt. Longcope, on the 6th of last month. The Managers cannot omit to express their obligations to Mr. Grimke for the large amount of time and effort cheerfully expended by him in aid of the Charleston emigrants, and to Messrs. R. & W. King, of Savannah, who superintended gratuitously the embarkation of the whole company. While this expedition promises much for the moral interests of the Colony, (many of the emigrants

being exemplary religious teachers) the Board learn that its departure has inclined many free persons of colour to a favourable opinion both of the Society and of Liberia.

At the request of the Auxiliary Colonization Society, of Augusta, Georgia, Thomas Hobby, Esq. sailed in the *Hercules* that he might examine, and on his return, make report of the state and prospects of the Colony.

On the same day with the *Hercules*, sailed the ship *Lafayette*, Capt. Hardy, from Baltimore, with one hundred and forty-nine emigrants: fifteen of them manumitted slaves, all of whom (three excepted) go out under the direction and mostly at the expense of the Managers of the Maryland State Fund for colonization. Nearly, if not all these emigrants, are from the Eastern Shore of Maryland; and according to the testimony of the Rev. Wm. McKenny, through whose efficient agency they were made acquainted with Liberia, and encouraged to remove thither, prepared by good moral habits for usefulness in Africa. Should these emigrants give a favourable account of the Colony, thousands of the free people of colour of Maryland will doubtless offer themselves for colonization, and thus invite her Legislature to consummate the work that she has so wisely planned and so nobly commenced—and which she regards as manifestly for her own great advantage, as well as for that of the African race.

The ship *Jupiter*, Captain Peters, received on board at Norfolk thirty-eight emigrants, and sailed thence for the Colony on the 9th of November. In this vessel embarked the Rev. M. B. Cox, as Missionary, under the authority of the Society for Missions of the Methodist Church.

Though great expense had been incurred by these expeditions, yet the urgency of applications in behalf of numerous slaves ready to be manumitted in Virginia, induced the Board, in reliance upon the public liberality, to charter the brig *Roanoke*, which left Norfolk for Liberia on the 4th instant with 127 passengers, about 100 of whom were



liberated in Virginia for the express purpose of African colonization. These last were liberally supplied with the most useful articles by their late owners, and in some cases the entire expense of their removal was defrayed by them. They are represented to possess, generally, unexceptionable characters, and some have received their freedom in consequence of their high moral and religious worth. The Rev. Mr. Pinney, a Missionary under the patronage of the Western Presbyterian Board of Missions, sailed in this vessel.

The whole number that have sailed for the Colony, in six vessels, since the last anniversary, is 790, of which 247 were manumitted slaves.

It is right that the friends of the Society should know that the expenses incurred by the Managers, have exceeded by several thousand dollars their means, and that they rely upon the public liberality to enable them to fulfil their engagements. They cannot permit themselves to doubt that their fellow-citizens will meet the demands of this sacred cause so as not only to enable the Board to discharge their present obligations, but also to add largely to the energy and extent of their operations.

In August last, the Rev. G. C. Light, of Kentucky, was empowered as Agent to obtain (in co-operation with other Agents and several State Societies) the necessary funds, and fit out, as soon as practicable, an expedition from New Orleans. Unfortunate delay has attended this expedition, but the Board learn that arrangements have been made, that will secure its departure, with a large number of emigrants, soon after the first of March next.

Much has been added to the strength of the Society, in the United States, during the year. Its plans and proceedings have been deeply and extensively thought of, and ably discussed and defended. While opposition has been embodied, and hurled against it reproach and defiance, its multiplied friends have stood forth calmly, but triumphantly,

for its vindication, and borne its cause onward with resistless power.

The Committee in the Legislature of Maryland at its last session, to whom were referred memorials on the subject of the coloured population, made a report, in which, assuming as an undisputed fact, that this population is injurious to the prosperity of the State, and expressing a deep conviction that it cannot long be borne, they demonstrated that, at an expense annually of \$26,040, the annual increase, and at that of \$40,200, the entire coloured population might, in the course of a single generation, be removed and established in a separate community. The disposition to emancipate slaves, under circumstances which forbids their enjoyment of the chief blessings of freedom, so extensively prevails, that the Committee believe provisions for abolition now unnecessary; and that, should means be provided for the removal of those voluntarily liberated, patriotism and benevolence will produce sufficient manumissions to give employment to all the resources that can be applied. The Committee state, that should Maryland ever colonize her whole coloured population, in addition to all the vast benefits, moral and political, she will have gained, she will be more than compensated for the work by the increased value of her lands. The Legislature expressed their approbation of the views of this Committee, by appropriating \$200,000 for effecting the object it proposed; and three Managers have been appointed by the Governor and State Council, to consider and direct the mode of its expenditure.

In the General Assembly of Virginia, African colonization has been the subject, in all its relations and extent, of a debate of unprecedented interest and vast power. That mighty evil, beneath which the minds of men had bowed in despair, has been looked at as no longer incurable: a remedy has been proposed; the sentiments of humanity, the secret wishes of the heart on this momentous topic have

found a voice, and the wide air has rung with it." A bill, proposing an appropriation of \$35,000 for the first, and of \$90,000 for the second year, to aid in the deportation of the free people of colour from Virginia, passed at its last session, the House of Delegates, but was rejected in the Senate by a small majority. The Managers cannot doubt that the general sentiment of the State is in favour of such an appropriation, and that it will soon be granted.

Nearly half the colonists in Liberia have emigrated from Virginia; and many citizens of that State have sought aid from the Society for removing thither their liberated slaves during the last year. The Legislatures of Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Pennsylvania and New York have taken the cause of this Society into consideration, but have not (though it is hoped they soon will) aided it by pecuniary appropriations.

Abundant and explicit testimony, founded on personal observation, in regard to the character and prosperity of the Colony, has, since the last anniversary, come before the public, both from enlightened foreigners, and respectable and disinterested citizens of the United States. It may be well to record here the opinion of an English officer, who spent three years upon the African coast (though perhaps already known to this meeting), "that the complete success of the Colony of Liberia is a proof that negroes are, by proper care and attention, as susceptible of the habits of industry and the improvements of social life, as any other race of men; and that the amelioration of the condition of the black people on the coast of Africa, by means of such colonies, is not chimerical." He adds, "a few colonies of this kind, scattered along the coast, would be of infinite value in improving the natives."

Nothing could be more satisfactory than the statements of Dr. Shane, of Cincinnati, who visited the Colony in February last. From Liberia he writes, "I here see many who left the United States in straitened circumstances, living with all the comforts of life around them; enjoying a re-

spectable and useful station in society, and wondering that their brethren in the United States, who have it in their power, do not flee to this asylum of happiness and liberty. I am certain no friend to humanity can come here and see the state of things, without being impressed with the immense benefits the Society is conferring on the long neglected sons of Africa. Nothing, rest assured, but a want of knowledge of Liberia, prevents thousands of honest, industrious free blacks from rushing to this land, where liberty and religion, with all their blessings, are enjoyed."

The intelligent master of the ship James Perkins, "did not hear, while at the Colony, a discontented expression from any one," but found "all with whom he conversed, apparently happy, and pleased both with the country and government."

Lt. Benjamin Page, commander of the United States' Schooner Boxer, which was ordered to the African coast for the suppression of piracy, and touched at Liberia on the 7th of April last, observes, near the close of a letter addressed to the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, on the state of the Colony—"with all the advantages that have been enumerated, it would be natural to expect to hear that the inhabitants are generally contented; which, as far as my observation has gone, I have found to be the case. There have been some exceptions, but they are to be found amongst characters who would be dissatisfied in any situation."

To this ample testimony, the Managers would add that of two intelligent free men of colour from Mississippi, who, at the request of their brethren, sailed in May last, in the ship Jupiter, for the Colony; where, for three weeks, they were solely occupied in examining thoroughly its affairs and prospects. They expressed, on their return, perfect satisfaction with what they had seen: their opinion that the people of Liberia had already risen in their style of living, and their happiness as a community, far above the most prosperous of their coloured brethren in the United States, and their firm purpose of soon removing, with their families, to the Colony. Hundreds, it is expected, will

emigrate with them from Mississippi; nor is it easy to estimate the amount of benefit which will probably result from their mission.

The views of the Board in regard to the establishment of five permanent Agencies, were explained in their last report. Two of these agencies have been filled during the year; that of New England and New York by the appointment of the Rev. J. N. Danforth; and that embracing Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and the Territory of Arkansas, by that of J. G. Birney, Esq. Both of these gentlemen have engaged zealously and resolutely in the discharge of their duties; and it is believed may confidently expect success. The Rev. John Crosby was employed, during the last year, principally in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where he made ample collections from several auxiliary Societies, and enforced the claims of the Institution upon many consciences and hearts. The able efforts of the Rev. H. B. Bascom, permanent Agent, have for several months been discontinued; but it is hoped will soon be renewed. Several other Agents have been engaged in the service of the Society, and some are now, for a season, devoting themselves to its cause. Nevertheless, correct information concerning the Society and Colony, has reached comparatively but a small portion of the American people; while the diffusion of such information universally, would, the Managers doubt not, increase tenfold, the means and benefits of both.

For the purpose of extending knowledge of the principles and proceedings of the Society, and of producing a deeper sense of their importance, the Board, in June last, published fifty thousand copies of an address, to which many interesting facts were appended, and circulated them widely throughout the Union. The increased amount of the Fourth of July collections, the multiplication of Auxiliary Societies, particularly the organization of some very promising ones in the Southern and South-Western States; the more general interest expressed in its cause by the conductors of the periodical press, and the munificence of several individ-

nal donations, afford encouragement for the adoption of more enlarged measures to inform the mind and invite the contributions of the public.

Several large bequests have been made to the Society, among which should be mentioned that of ten thousand dollars by the lamented Judge Workman, of Louisiana, and that of one thousand dollars (already received), by the late venerable Col. Rutgers, of New York; who, for some years, was a Vice-President of the Institution. The Board would also record the liberality of two gentlemen in Augusta, Georgia, who have each made donations of \$500 to the Society. And here it may not be improper to express the hope, that a cause, tending to relieve our country from its greatest evil, and to confer upon one quarter of the globe, civilization, freedom and christianity, will be deemed worthy of the latest and most solemn thoughts of men; and that, when preparing to leave the world, the humane and pious will show their affectionate remembrance of it, by directing that it shall be aided by some portion of their property, after they can act for it no more.

In the hope that the medical education of several young men of colour, who might enter into obligations to establish themselves under the direction of the Society, as Physicians in the Colony, would be useful, and finally economical, three such, recommended as possessing the necessary qualifications, have been selected, and are pursuing their studies under the care of a medical gentleman, a member of the Board, in this city. Placed under the immediate inspection of the Board, they have the strongest motives for well doing, nor will the Managers permit the funds of the Society to be expended on those unworthy of patronage.

This meeting may be assured that Africa is not forgotten in other lands than this. Dark in her sorrow as in her aspect, wounded and crushed and bleeding as she is, the eye of Christendom is turned compassionately upon her, and her powers are pledged for her relief. Since our

last anniversary, humanity has been cheered by great events, auspicious to the interests of the African race.

The governments of England and France have agreed to exercise the mutual right of search along the western coast of Africa, for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade.

Brazil, into which so many thousands of the wretched victims of this commerce have been heretofore annually introduced, has prohibited, under severe penalties, their further introduction; and pronouncing such as may be unlawfully brought thither, free, directs that they be transferred again to Africa.

The Society of Christian Morals in France, has appointed a special Committee, to ascertain on what terms it may be able to redeem the female slaves in the French Antilles; and addressed an eloquent memorial to the Chamber of Deputies, praying that the conditions of enfranchisement may be determined by law, and a maximum price fixed, at which the master shall not be allowed to refuse liberty to his slave.

A plan has been proposed (and will probably soon be executed) by the friends of Africa in London, for introducing civilization and christianity among some of the most powerful and least barbarous tribes in the vicinity of Sierra Leone. The Foulahs, who inhabit a country a little to the north-east of this Colony, on account of their industry, abstinence from the slave trade, freedom from the shackles of Mahomedanism, and prepossessions in favour of Europeans, as also from their number, and the oppression which they endure from the neighbouring tribes, have been selected as the most promising subjects for this experiment. The scheme is to obtain a grant of some extensive tract of land, and to offer the Foulahs free possession of it; likewise to establish a missionary settlement among them, under the superintendence of a European missionary, with native assistants, by whose direction, it is believed, they would acquire a practical and efficient knowledge of the christian

religion and of the useful arts. The Wesleyan Missionary Society, being engaged in missions in that part, will probably superintend the establishment. M·Carthy's Island, in the Gambia, has been named as the most eligible spot for the settlement, and it is reported that the plan has been submitted to the Foulahs, and received their unqualified approbation.

The discovery of the course of the long mysterious Niger, exceeded probably in magnitude by only two rivers, and those our own, on the globe, enriched by large tributary streams, flowing through the finest countries of all Africa, inhabited by an active and partially civilized population estimated at 25,000,000, has laid open almost a new world to the enterprise of Commerce and the labours of Philanthropy. Revealing states and kingdoms hitherto unknown, but capable of furnishing large supplies of the most valued productions for the arts and manufactures of Europe, and of receiving and consuming the articles into which they may be wrought by her superior skill; we are in little danger of rating too highly the probable effects of this discovery on the character and interests of mankind. The growing sense of justice in Christian nations towards Africa, creates confidence that they will seek to repair the mighty wrongs of which she has been the victim; that their future commerce with her will be founded upon principles of just reciprocity; that henceforth they will go to her in peace and charity, give to her the light of the oracles of God, encourage her to throw off the badges of her shame, and to clothe herself in garments of honour and of praise. At this very time steamboats from England are exploring the Niger, with the view of establishing permanent intercourse with the natives of central Africa.

The visit of a devoted Friend and Agent of the Society, Elliott Cresson, Esq. to England, and the kind manner of his reception, were mentioned in the last Report; and this meeting will be highly gratified to learn that Mr. Cresson has made known extensively the principles and success



of this Society to the philanthropic of that kingdom, who have not only listened with intense interest to his statements, but magnanimously come forward with their contributions to the cause which he advocates. We shall more justly appreciate the generosity of the English people in this case, when we consider the deep earnestness with which they are urging measures for ameliorating the condition of the coloured population of the W. Indies, and the amount of funds annually raised by them for that object. Declining all compensation, and defraying even his own expenses, Mr. Cresson has nevertheless laboured with an activity, zeal, and resolution, not to be exceeded: has travelled throughout a large portion of England, addressed public meetings in the principal towns, formed numerous Branch Associations, secured the aid of the press, and the favour of thousands of warm hearts in behalf of Liberia. In December of last year, Mr. Cresson remitted \$1332 to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and in July of the present, \$2424 to the Parent Institution. Of the donations making up these sums, was one of £200, four of £100 each, one of the latter of which was accompanied by the following note: "From a Female Friend, who is only rich by the fewness of her own wants and the cheerfulness with which she ministers to the wants of others." One individual offered to give £500, if nine others could be found who would do the same, and such is his influence in the benevolent circles of England, that it is probable the object will be accomplished. Such liberality shall never be forgotten: and though an ocean separates us from those who have manifested it, yet bonds of sympathy and affection unite them to our hearts: we feel that they are one with us in promoting the great cause of Humanity and of God; and though we cannot expect the happiness of ever personally expressing to them our gratitude, let them be assured that we both admire and would imitate their example.

The Managers have already alluded to the opposition which has been made to the Society, and would now add,

that it has been denounced in terms of unmitigated severity and reproach.

It has been represented as hostile to the free people of colour, as designed to add to the rigour and perpetuate the existence of slavery; as injurious to our own country and to Africa; and, in fine, as proposing a plan, the best feature of which is its impracticableness on any large scale.

The Managers will offer in vindication of the Society, on this occasion, only the following facts.

1st. The Society was founded by the patriotic, the benevolent and pious: and from the great community of these, throughout this Union, has it mainly derived support.

2d. The free people of colour who have sought its aid, and emigrated under its direction to Liberia, have, according to their own testimony, and the testimony of others, greatly improved their condition and character.

3d. Through its moral influence, numerous slaves have been manumitted; and through its agency settled, in freedom and prosperity, in Liberia; while many others are now ready to be consigned to its care.

4th. No one has shown, or can show, that the public have experienced detriment from the plans and proceedings of this Society.

5th. The native Africans in the vicinity of the Colony, are, in their own judgment, greatly benefitted by its establishment; and disinterested strangers, who have visited them, concur in their opinion.

6th. The practicability of the plan of African colonization, on a scale of vast utility, has been demonstrated, and means exist, all admit, for immensely enlarging its results.

Facts like these can be set aside by no ingenuity of speculation or of argument; they place the character of this Institution on grounds inaccessible to the boldest assailant, commanding a favourable verdict of the understanding, even where they fail to win the heart.

Difference of opinion may and does exist, in regard to the extent, in future, of African colonization. Its utility

so far as it may be prosecuted, is not dependent on the conclusions, however various, formed on this subject. Omitting argument to sustain, the Managers would simply avow their opinion, that the moral and economical elements at work to promote it, and the influence to be relied on for augmenting their power, afford solid grounds for hope, if not for confidence, that it will be so extended as to confer invaluable blessings on at least some millions of our race; so extended, as in an age not distant, to be contemplated as among the greatest schemes ever devised for the good of mankind. The opinion here expressed, however, must, by reflection on the reasons for its foundation, become the general opinion of our countrymen, before the practicableness of the scheme to the extent just mentioned, can be realized.

If, to provide for and educate his children, be the duty of a parent, is it less clearly the duty of a nation to provide, as it may be able, for the relief and improvement of any unfortunate portion of its inhabitants, and should uncontrollable circumstances, or the public good, forbid their elevation on the soil of such nation, to assist them in removing to a land (if such can be found) where they may enjoy the means of improvement, without restraint in their use, or limit to their advantage? And could the character of nations, civilized and christian, be more ennobled than by the adoption of measures, separately or in concert, for the instruction and reformation of the uncivilized and unchristian? Glory, will all after ages award to that nation, which, on those virtues only, that exalt individual man, shall build its national character. And such nation, animated by those moral principles that adorn and enrich our nature, must feel itself to be but an individual in the great brotherhood of nations, must recognize and acknowledge in each member of this fraternity, a child of the same Almighty and beneficent Parent, who requires the strong to support the weak: the enlightened to inform the ignorant; the prosperous to relieve the distressed: and each to embrace

the common interests of all, within the wide circuit of its sympathies and charities. The triumphs of such a nation will not be over justice and mercy; over withered hopes and broken hearts; but over the ignorance that darkens, and the vice that degrades our species; they will be sounded forth, not in the trumpet notes of war, but celebrated in processions and songs of peace. Such triumphs are the people of the United States now invited to achieve. To them, especially, are the interests of the African race by Providence entrusted, and a thousand voices plead, that the high and solemn duty resulting therefrom, be faithfully and fully discharged.

In conclusion, the Managers would remind the General Meeting, that Liberia, unlike most other colonies, has been founded, not to extend the power or enrich the commerce of our country, not to bind in vassalage those who resort to it, or reduce to deeper than their present degradation the uncivilized of Africa, but to stand, within the precincts of Barbarism, a citadel of Freedom, Knowledge, and Christianity; to bring a rude deeply injured, and miserable people under the dominion of equal laws and a pure religion, and thus enable them to appreciate the dignity and add to the honours of Humanity.

*American Colonization Society in account current with Richard  
Smith, Treasurer*

*DR.*

To transportation of emigrants; supplies for them while preparing for embarkation, during the voyage, and after their arrival in the Colony; and articles purchased for Colony,	\$36,892 67
salaries of Colonial Agent and Physicians,	2,435 15
salaries of minor officers in the Colony, ....	2,347 05
salaries of Agents in the United States, of Secretary and Clerk, and various contingent expenses, .....	5,386 37
cash paid for printing, including Report and 50,000 copies of an Address, ... ..	3,268 13
subscriptions to Repository, paid J. C. Dunn	38 17
expenses of collecting emigrants, . . . . .	786 41
schooner Margaret Mercer, .....	155 20
money refunded, .....	213 79
loss on uncurrent money, .....	16 87
interest on loans, .....	16
support and tuition of four young men of colour, now in a course of education to become Physicians in Liberia, .....	981 05
in aid of James Brown, preparing to become a Druggist in the Colony, .....	108
balance, .....	1,048 83
	<hr/> <hr/> <b>\$53,693 05</b>

*CR.*

By balance on hand, .....	\$11,090 15
donations from individuals, .....	1,518 05
contributions from Auxiliary Societies, ....	7,838 67
collections of Agents, .....	5,407 14
4th of July collections, ... ..	11,234 27
life member subscriptions, .....	2,676 24
subscriptions on Gerrit Smith's plan, ... ..	3,526 07
annual subscriptions, .....	119
subscriptions to African Repository, ... ..	77
Liberia Herald, .....	22
money refunded to the Society, .....	41 14
legacies, ... ..	2,292 31
collections in Great Britain, .....	2,429 19
money received on acc't. of Educ'n Society,	61 29
discount on drafts, for ready payment, ... ..	4
loans, .....	2,176 53
money disbursed in expedition per Latayette, by the Managers of the Maryland Fund, ...	5,180
	<hr/> <hr/> <b>\$53,693 05</b>
By balance as per contra, .....	<hr/> <hr/> <b>\$1,048 83</b>

E. E.

RICHARD SMITH,  
*Treasurer American Colonization Society.*

WASHINGTON, January 21 1833



## APPENDIX.

### A.

*Office of the American Colonization Society,*

WASHINGTON, MAY 18, 1825.

At a special meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, the digest of the laws and the plan of civil government for Liberia, as adopted by the Agents of this Society, having been read and considered, it was, on motion,

*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers, considering the satisfactory information afforded by recent accounts from the Colony, of the successful operation of the plan of the civil government thereof, as established by their Agents in August last, and seeing therein reason to reconsider their instructions to the Agent, of the 29th of December, 1824, now approve of the principles in that form of government, and give their sanction to the same.

*Resolved*, That the digest of the laws be referred to a Committee to examine the same, and compare them with the Constitution and laws of 1820, and report to the next stated meeting.

WASHINGTON, MAY 23, 1825.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, this day, the Committee appointed at the last meeting, presented the following resolutions, which were adopted:—

*Resolved*, That the Board, having considered the digest of the laws now in force in the Colony of Liberia, dated August 19, 1824, as prepared by the Agent, do approve the same, and declare the same to be, under the Constitution, the law of the Colony, adding thereto the following:—In case of failure to find recognizance for good behaviour, when required, the person so failing shall be subjected to such labor on the public works, or other penalty as the Agent shall prescribe, until he shall find recognizance, or the object for which it was required of him shall have been answered.

In all cases of banishment, where the banished person has no heir in the Colony, the land held by him shall revert to the Colony.

*Resolved*, That this declaration of the law of the Colony, shall not be construed to annul or impair any regulations which the Agent, under his constitutional authority, may have seen fit to establish subsequent to the above date of August 19, 1824.

*Resolved*, That the Resident Agent cause to be printed two thousand copies of the Constitution, government, and laws of the Colony of Liberia, as established by this Board at Washington, 23rd of May, 1825.

JAMES LAURIE, *Acting President*

R. B. GURLEY, *Resident Agent*

## CONSTITUTION

*For the government of the African Colony at Liberia.*

ARTICLE I. All persons born within the limits of the Territory held by the American Colonization Society in Liberia, in Africa, or removing there to reside, shall be free, and entitled to all such rights and privileges as are enjoyed by the citizens of the United States.

**ARTICLE II.** The Colonization Society shall, from time to time, make such rules as they may think fit for the government of the settlement, until they shall withdraw their Agents and leave the settlers to the government of themselves.

**ARTICLE III.** The Society's Agents shall compose a Board, to determine all questions relative to the government of the settlement, shall decide all disputes between individuals, and shall exercise all judicial powers, except such as they shall delegate to Justices of the Peace.

**ARTICLE IV.** The Agents shall appoint all officers not appointed by the Managers, necessary for the good order and government of the settlement.

**ARTICLE V.** There shall be no slavery in the settlement.

**ARTICLE VI.** The common law, as in force and modified in the United States, and applicable to the situation of the people, shall be in force in the settlement.

**ARTICLE VII.** Every settler coming to the age of twenty-one years, and those now of age, shall take an oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution.

**ARTICLE VIII.** In cases of necessity, where no rule has been made by the Board of Managers, the Agents are authorized to make the necessary rules and regulations, of which they shall, by the first opportunity, inform the Board for their approbation; and they shall continue in force, until the Board shall send out their decision upon them.

**ARTICLE IX.** This Constitution is not to interfere with the jurisdiction, rights and claims of the Agents of the United States, over the captured Africans and others, under their care and control, so long as they shall reside within the limits of the settlement.

**ARTICLE X.** No alteration shall be made in this Constitution, except by the unanimous consent of all present, at a regular meeting of the Board of Managers, or by a vote of two-thirds of the members present at two successive meetings of the Board of Managers.

The Board received from the Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, early in last year, a Plan of Government, exhibiting several deviations from the form sketched in 1824, but in its principles the same. These deviations, Mr. Ashmun remarks, "have grown gradually out of the altered and improving state of the Colony, and are neither the offspring of a rash spirit of experiment, nor have they been made without evident necessity." At a meeting of the Board of Managers, October 22d, 1828, it was determined to consider the revised Constitution or form of Government, submitted by Mr. Ashmun, and after due deliberation, it was

*Resolved*, That the Constitution as modified by the Colonial Agent, Mr. Ashmun, as now in operation, be hereby adopted



## PLAN OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR THE COLONY OF LIBERIA.

The necessity of a mild, just, and efficient civil Government, for the preservation of individual and political rights among any people, and the advancement of true prosperity, induces the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society to adopt, after mature consideration, the following system of Government, for the proper regulation of public affairs in the Colony of Liberia.

ARTICLE I. The Agent of the American Colonization Society, resident in the Colony, possesses within the same, sovereign power, subject only to the Constitution, the chartered rights of the citizens, and the decisions of the Board.

ARTICLE II. All male colored people, who have subscribed the oath to support the Constitution, and drawn and not forfeited lands in the Colony, shall be entitled to vote for, and be eligible to the civil offices of the Colony.

ARTICLE III. The Civil Officers of the Colony shall be appointed annually: and the polls for the general annual election of the Colony, shall be opened on the last Tuesday in August, and continue open not more than three, nor less than two successive days, in the different Settlements. Elections shall be organized by the Sheriff, by the appointment in each Settlement, a President, two Judges, and two Clerks.

ARTICLE IV. The Colonial Officers eligible by the annual suffrage of the freeholders, in which the Agent has the right to interpose his negative, assigning to the voters in time to renew the choice at the same election, his reason for such interposition, are *for the Colony*, a Vice-Agent, two Counsellors, a High Sheriff, a Register, and a Treasurer: and for each of the settlements consisting of not less than sixty families, two Commissioners of Agriculture, two Commissioners to form a Board of Health, and two Censors.

ARTICLE V. The Vice-Agent shall be admitted to the counsels of the Agent in all important matters: and shall express an opinion on all questions submitted to his consideration. He shall aid the Agent in the discharge of his various duties, and in the support and execution of the laws; and in the event of the Agent's absence, or sickness, the Vice-Agent shall become the General Superintendent of Public Affairs.

ARTICLE VI. The Vice-Agent with two Counsellors, shall constitute a council; who shall meet when requested by the Agent, to deliberate on the interests of the Colony, and the measures to be taken for their security and advancement.

The Vice-Agent shall also advise with the other members of the Council, on any subjects connected with the general welfare: as often as he shall think it proper, and report the result to the Agent if proper, or act upon the same in case of his absence.

ARTICLE VII. The duty of the Counsellors shall be, to aid the Agent, or Vice-Agent, with their advice and counsel, on subjects relating to the general welfare of the Colony, whenever thereto requested by either.

ARTICLE VIII. The High Sheriff shall, either by himself or his deputies, aid in the organization of elections; act as Marshal for the Government of the Colony, execute all processes, judgments, and commands of the Court of Sessions, and perform, generally, the services required of the same Officer, by the common laws of England and the United States.

ARTICLE IX. The Secretary of the Colony shall take charge of, and carefully keep all the papers, records, and archives of the Colony, generally; shall attend and exactly record the doings of the Agent in Council; shall publish all the ordinances, and legal enactments of the Government; publish Government notices; issue the Agent's orders, civil, military, and judicial, to the proper functionaries; deliver a fair copy of government papers necessary to be recorded, to the Register of the Colony; and manage its internal correspondence, on the part and under the directions of the Agent.

ARTICLE X. The Register shall record all documents and instruments relating to the security and title of public or individual property; Government grants, patents, licences, contracts and commissions, and all other papers which are properly a matter of record, and to which the Government of the Colony shall be a party.

Every volume of records when completed, shall be delivered by the Register, to the Secretary of the Colony, for preservation, among the archives of the Colony.

ARTICLE XI. The Treasurer of the Colony shall receive and safely keep all the monies, and public securities required by law, or the judgment of courts, to be deposited in the public Treasury, and shall deliver up, and pay over the same, only by a requisition signed by the Agent, or Vice-Agent of the Colony; to whom he shall render a statement of the public finances on the Monday preceeding the annual election of the Colony.

ARTICLE XII. The Commissioners of Agriculture shall report, and serve as the organ of the Government, on all subjects relating to the Agriculture of the Colony.

The Commissioners composing the Board of Health, shall report, and serve as the organ of the Government, on all subjects relating to the health of the Colony; shall ascertain the proper objects of medical attention; report nuisances prejudicial to the public health, direct their removal; and make themselves generally active in diminishing the sufferings and dangers of the settlers caused by sickness.

Each of these Committees shall record, for the future use of the Colony, all important observations and facts relating to the subjects of their charge.

**ARTICLE XIII.** The two Censors shall act as conservators of the public morals, and promoters of the public industry; and be obliged to all the duties, and invested with all the legal powers, on whatever relates to the public morals and industry, which are lawfully required of, and possessed by grand jurors, in such parts of the United States as recognize such auxiliaries to their magistracy.

It shall be the special duty of these officers to ascertain in what way every person, in their proper districts, acquires a livelihood; to report or present idlers; detect vicious or suspected practices; and present for legal investigation and cure, every actual or probable evil, growing out of the immoralities, either of a portion of the community, or of individuals.

**ARTICLE XIV.** The Judiciary of the Colony shall consist of the Agent and a competent number of Justices of the peace, created by his appointment. The Justices shall have cognizance of all cases affecting the peace, and of all criminal cases within the definition of *petit larceny*, and all actions of debt not exceeding twenty dollars. In the court of Monthly Sessions, whether acting as a court of law, or a court of equity, the Agent or Vice-Agent shall preside, and the Justices be his associates.

The court of Monthly Sessions shall have original Jurisdiction in all actions of debt, in which the amount in litigation shall exceed twenty dollars; and in criminal causes above the degree of *petit larceny*; and shall have appellate jurisdiction in all civil causes whatsoever.

The requisite number of Constables for the Colony shall be appointed by the Agent annually.

A Clerk and a Crier of the Court of Sessions shall also be appointed by the said Court, annually.

An Auctioneer, who shall conduct all auction sales except those of the Sheriff and Constables, in pursuance of the judgment of the Courts of the Colony, shall also be created by annual appointment of the Agent.

A Store Keeper, Librarian, Commissary of Ordnance, to be appointed by the Agent, shall be respected and obeyed in matters belonging to their respective functions, as officers of the Colony.

Instructors in all public schools having the sanction of a public charter, or participating in any degree in the public funds, shall be appointed and employed by the regular school committees of the Colony, but with the Agent's approbation and concurrence.

All Custom, Port, Infirmary, Medical, Guard and Police officers, not appointed by the Managers of the Colonization Society, and whose services are required and defined by the laws of the Colony, together with the public Measurers, Inspectors, and Appraisers, shall be appointed by the Agent of the Colony.

**ARTICLE XV.** The Militia of the Colony, shall consist whol-

ly of such uniformed Volunteer Corps as shall obtain charters under the Government of the Colony; of which charters, the following shall be fundamental articles:—

1st. That the Corps shall always comply with any requisitions for their services, either wholly or in part, made by the executive Government of the Colony.

2nd. That the Corps shall ever preserve and hold themselves and their arms and equipments in a state of readiness for actual service, at the shortest notice.

3rd. That the Officers be commissioned by the Agent; and

4thly. That they shall muster, parade, and serve in the line of the Colony, under general Officers, when thereto required by the executive Government.

General officers shall be appointed by the Agent; and when especial reasons do not forbid, shall be taken from the Officers of the several Corps, and promoted according to rank, and the seniority of their commissions.

All Military Officers and delinquencies, shall be tried by a General Court Martial, to be composed, except the officers and Guards of the Court, of Commissioned Officers; and to sit quarterly.

A correct copy.

J. ASHMUN.

[For a digest of the Laws of the Colony, see the Appendix of the Twelfth Report, page 38.]

## ( B. )

### *Report of the Board of Managers for the removal of the People of Color.*

*To the Honorable*

*the General Assembly of Maryland.*

The Board of Managers appointed in pursuance of "An act relating to the people of colour of this State," respectfully submit the following Report of their proceedings.

The members of the Board received their appointment in April last, and immediately entered upon the discharge of the duties assigned them. Having all been engaged in promoting the views and aiding the exertions of the Colonization Society, they were enabled by their past experience, to adopt at once, such measures as they believed would lead to the more effectual fulfilment of the responsible trust committed to them by the General Assembly.

It was evident to the Board, that, without the active co-operation of their fellow-citizens throughout the State, their labours would be of little avail. The free people of colour were very imperfectly informed as to the nature of the privileges offered by the Legislature, to those who wished to leave the State; and the Board could only communicate advantageously with them, through the medium of those citizens in their respective vicinities, who could be induced to take an interest in the subject.—

The Agent of the Board could not seek out the individual members of a class of population scattered throughout the State; nor could his representations to those whom he might visit, have much weight with them, unless he were sustained by the influence of those in whom the coloured population might have that confidence which would be derived from a knowledge of them, and a conviction of the benevolence of their motives.

To accomplish, in the most effectual manner, the objects of the Board, they prepared, and caused to be published, two pamphlets, one of which was designed for circulation among the citizens of the State, and the other among the coloured population. These were freely distributed throughout the State, and were productive, as the Board have reason to believe, of very beneficial effects. They also entered into correspondence with a number of gentlemen in different sections of the State, to whose active and zealous exertions they acknowledge themselves to be much indebted. Copies of the publications made by the Board, are respectfully submitted with this Report, as also are copies of pamphlets, published by Matthew Carey, of Philadelphia, of which a number were purchased, and a limited circulation given them by the Board.

Soon after the organization of the Board, they found it necessary to appoint an Agent to visit the different counties in succession; and they were fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Robert S. Finley; a gentleman of ardent zeal, and distinguished abilities, who had gained much experience on the subject, during his previous efficient exertions as an Agent of the American Colonization Society. Mr. Finley visited many parts of the State, and his services were of the greatest value; but he was compelled to leave the State in August last, in order to attend to his private affairs. The Board then appointed as their Agent, the Rev. Wm. McKenney, a gentleman who had also acted as an Agent of the American Colonization Society. The late period of the year at which Mr. McKenney was appointed, rendered it impracticable for him to visit more than one section of the State; and his exertions were therefore confined to the Eastern Shore, the place of his nativity. In the opinion which the Board had entertained of his zeal and talents, they found themselves amply justified by the results of his labours. The interest which had been previously excited, was confirmed and increased; and the Board have reason to believe, that the subject of removing and colonizing the free people of colour, is now looked upon in Maryland, as one of the most important to her future prosperity and welfare, which can occupy the attention of her citizens.

The whole number of persons who have removed from the State at the charge of the Board, is one hundred and seventy-five (175); of whom twenty-nine (29) emigrated to the Island of Hayti; and one hundred and forty-six (146) to Liberia, in

Africa: of the latter, twenty (20) were manumitted for the purpose of their emigrating. The emigrants to Liberia were taken by the American Colonization Society, and are to be maintained by them after their arrival, until they are settled in the Colony, for a certain sum paid by the Board for each individual.— They were provided with all necessary comforts, and with the means of establishing themselves most advantageously in their new abode, and if the accounts which shall be received from them, are of such a nature as there is no reason to doubt that they will be, there are a large number of coloured persons in different quarters of the State, who have expressed their determination of following them during the ensuing year. Many more, indeed, it is believed, would have emigrated this year, had it not been for the prevalence of the epidemic which visited the State, just about the period at which the Board had determined to despatch the first expedition. The exertions of the Board were of course paralyzed by the fear of the general spreading of this fatal disease, as it was considered imprudent to take any steps for the collecting together of numbers of persons; and the Board had at one time, abandoned the idea of sending out any emigrants this year. The returning health, however, with which the state was blessed; and the anxiety of many of the emigrants not to postpone their departure, induced the Board to change their plan; and the fine Ship *La Fayette* accordingly sailed from Baltimore with the emigrants for Liberia, on the ninth of December. In anticipation of a much larger emigration next year, arrangements have been made for the immediate erection in Liberia, of suitable buildings for receptacles, for the accommodation of emigrants on their arrival.

The Board cannot in justice omit to say, that in fitting out the expedition for Liberia, as well as in all the previous measures they had adopted, they received important and efficient assistance from the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society. This Body, and its various Auxiliary Societies in the counties, have been actively engaged in promoting the scheme of colonization; and it is owing, in a great measure, to their exertions, that the Board were finally enabled to despatch a vessel this year for Liberia, with emigrants so abundantly provided with the means of attaining that state of prosperity to which they have such just cause to aspire. The number of manumissions reported to the Board by the Registers of Wills, and Clerks of the different County Courts, is four hundred and fifty-three (153): of which, however, many are prospective; with regard to those whose manumissions have already taken effect, the Board have taken all the means in their power to fulfil their duty towards them, in such manner as appeared to them consonant with the benevolent provisions of the act of the General Assembly.

The Board have received returns, with lists of the free people

of colour residing in the counties respectively, from the Sheriffs of all the counties of the State, with the exception of those of Prince Georges, Baltimore, Harford and Worcester counties, from which none have been received.

The amount drawn by the Board from the Treasury of the State, during the year, is eight thousand dollars (\$8000); and a full account of the disbursements of so much thereof as has been expended, is herewith respectfully submitted. The vouchers for such expenditures together with the minutes of the proceedings of the Board, and all their other books and papers, they hold subject to such examination as your honourable body may be pleased to direct; and they would respectfully ask leave to refer to the same, for all such further details of their acts and proceedings as may be required, and which they may have erred in judging it unnecessary to introduce into this Report.

It will be observed, that a considerable portion of the amount expended by the Board, has been for objects of which the benefit is expected to be of a permanent character; and the expenses of the Board, in many items, would not have increased, had a much larger emigration taken place. The reasons which prevented this, have been before alluded to; but so much information has now been diffused among the free coloured population; and such is the spirit prevailing amongst many of them, that it is believed that numbers will gladly avail themselves, during the ensuing year, of the privileges offered them, and there is every reason to hope, that the great and philanthropic enterprise in which the State of Maryland has embarked, will be crowned with complete success.

Respectfully submitted,

MOSES SHEPARD,

CHARLES HOWARD,

CHARLES C. HARPER.

Baltimore, December 24, 1832.

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( C. )

#### PUBLIC LANDS.

Early in the present session of Congress, the Hon. Henry Clay introduced a Bill into the Senate, providing for a distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands (for a limited time), among the several States; to be applied by these States, according to their discretion, to three great objects; Education, Internal Improvement, and the Colonization of Free Persons of Colour. The following is a copy of this Bill as it passed the Senate, January 25, 1832.

*An Act to appropriate, for a limited time, the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands of the United States, and for granting land to certain States.*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the thirty first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty two, there be allowed and paid to each of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Ala-*

bama, Missouri, Mississippi, and Louisiana, over and above what each of the said States is entitled to by the terms of the compacts entered into between them, respectively, upon their admission into the Union, and the United States, the sum of twelve and a half per centum upon the nett amount of the sales of the public lands, which, subsequent to the day aforesaid, shall be made within the several limits of the said States; which said sum of twelve and a half per centum shall be applied to some object or objects of internal improvement, or education, within the said States, under the direction of their respective Legislatures: *provided*, that said dividend and distribution, or the proportion of any State therein, shall be in no wise affected or diminished on account of any sums which have been heretofore, or shall be hereafter, applied to the construction or continuance of the Cumberland road, but that the same shall remain as heretofore, chargeable on the two per centum fund provided for by the compacts with the new States.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That, after deducting the said twelve and a half per centum, and what, by the compacts aforesaid, has heretofore been allowed to the States aforesaid, the residue of the nett proceeds of all the public lands of the United States, wherever situated, which shall be sold subsequent to the said thirty-first day of December, shall be divided among the twenty-four States of the Union, according to their respective federal representative population, as ascertained by the last census, to be applied by the Legislatures of the said States to such objects of education, internal improvement, colonization of free persons of colour, or reimbursement of any existing debt contracted for internal improvements, as the said Legislatures may severally designate and authorize: *provided*, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to the prejudice of future applications for a reduction of the price of the public lands, or to the prejudice of applications for a transfer of the public lands, on reasonable terms, to the States within which they lie, not to impair the power of Congress to make such future disposition of the public lands, or any part thereof, as it may see fit.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the said several sums of money shall be paid at the Treasury of the United States, half yearly, to such person or persons as the respective Legislatures of the said States may authorize and direct.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That this Act shall continue and be in force for the term of five years from the said thirty-first day of December, unless the United States shall become involved in war with any foreign power; in which event, from the commencement of hostilities, this Act shall cease, and be no longer in force: *provided, nevertheless*, That if, prior to the expiration of this Act, any new State or States shall be admitted into the Union, the power is reserved of assigning, by law, to such new State or States, the proportion to which such State or States may be entitled, upon the principles of this Act, and upon the principles of any of the compacts made as aforesaid with either of the seven States first mentioned.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That, during the period in which the nett proceeds of the sales of the public lands shall be distributed among the several States, according to the provisions of this Act, there shall be annually appropriated for completing the surveys of said lands, a sum not less than eighty thousand dollars; and the minimum price at which the public lands are now sold at private sale, shall not be increased; and in case the same shall be increased, by law, within the period aforesaid, so much of this Act as provides that the nett proceeds of the sales of the public lands shall be distributed among the several States, shall, from and after the increase of the minimum price thereof, cease and become utterly null and of no effect, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That whenever, for two successive years, it shall appear to the Secretary of the Treasury, that the nett proceeds of the sales of the public lands, within any land district now established, or which may hereafter be established, by law, shall not be sufficient to discharge the salaries of the officers employed by the United States within such district, he may discontinue such officers, and the lands contained in such district remaining unsold, shall, in such case, be annexed to the adjoining district.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be granted to each of the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Missouri, the quantity of five hundred thousand acres of land, to the State of Indiana, one hundred and fifteen thousand two hundred and seventy-two acres; to the State of Illinois, twenty thousand acres; and to the State of Alabama, one hundred thousand acres of land, lying within the limits of said States, respectively; to be selected in such manner as the Legislatures thereof shall direct, and located in parcels, conformably to sectional divisions and subdivisions, of not less than three hundred and twenty acres in any one location on any public land subject to entry at private sale; which said locations may be made at any time within five years after the lands of the United States in said States, respectively, shall have been surveyed, and offered at public sale according to existing laws.



§ 2c. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That the land herein granted to the States above named, shall not be disposed of at a price less than one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, until otherwise directed by law; and the nett proceeds of the sales of said lands shall be faithfully applied to objects of internal improvement within the States aforesaid, respectively; namely: roads, bridges, canals, and improvement of water courses, and draining swamps; and such roads, canals, bridges, and water courses, when made or improved, shall be free for the transportation of the United States' mail, and munitions of war, and for the passage of their troops, without the payment of any toll whatever.

*STATEMENT showing the dividend of each State (according to its federal population) in the proceeds of the public lands, after deducting therefrom fifteen per cent. as an additional dividend for the States in which the public land is situated.*

Estimated proceeds of lands \$3,000,000; deduct 15 per cent., \$450,000, and \$2,550,000 remains to be divided among all the States according to their population.

STATES.	Federal population 1830.	Share in proceeds of public lands.
Maine,	399,437	\$85,387 48
New Hampshire,	269,326	57,573 71
Massachusetts,	610,408	130,487 59
Vermont,	280,657	59,995 93
Rhode Island,	97,194	20,777 12
Connecticut,	297,665	63,631 72
New York,	1,918,553	410,128 29
New Jersey,	349,922	68,389 59
Pennsylvania,	1,348,072	288,176 64
Delaware,	75,432	15,202 93
Maryland,	405,843	86,756 89
Virginia,	1,023,503	218,793 82
North Carolina,	639,747	136,758 45
South Carolina,	455,025	97,270 51
Georgia,	429,811	91,880 52
Alabama,	262,508	56,116 22
Mississippi,	110,358	23,591 19
Louisiana,	171,694	36,702 95
Tennessee,	625,263	133,662 21
Kentucky,	621,832	132,928 77
Ohio,	935,884	200,063 54
Indiana,	343,031	73,329 59
Illinois,	157,147	33,593 25
Missouri,	130,419	27,879 68

11,928,731

## ( D. )

*Things which should be done to aid the Cause.*

*A State Colonization Society should be formed in each State of the Union. There are now seventeen State Societies.*

*It is vastly important that each State Society should influence our fellow-citizens to establish an Auxiliary Society in every county or town of the Union.*

*Let every Clergyman preach at least once a year on the subject.*

*Let all the churches of every denomination in the United States, take up collections annually for the Society, on or about the Fourth of July.*

*Let meetings of the citizens be held in every county, or town in the United States, and memorials in behalf of the cause of the Society, be sent in by them to their State Legislatures, and to Congress.*

*Let the Ladies every where form associations to assist the object.*

*Let every Editor publish something in its favour weekly, and send his paper in exchange to the African Repository, Washington City.*

*Let the Friends of the cause, make such arrangements, as may give an opportunity to every individual in the country, of making annually, a contribution, if it be but of a single cent to promote it.*

*Finally, Let every man feel it to be a personal duty to give his countenance and support to the cause; let him realize its greatness, its practicability and glory,—and the work will soon be done.*

N. B.—Anxious to bring this Report within a small compass, and give it a speedy circulation, we omit the list of Life Members, and of Auxiliary Societies. We shall be glad to receive from our friends, information which will enable us to present, the next year, a full and accurate statement in regard to both.

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